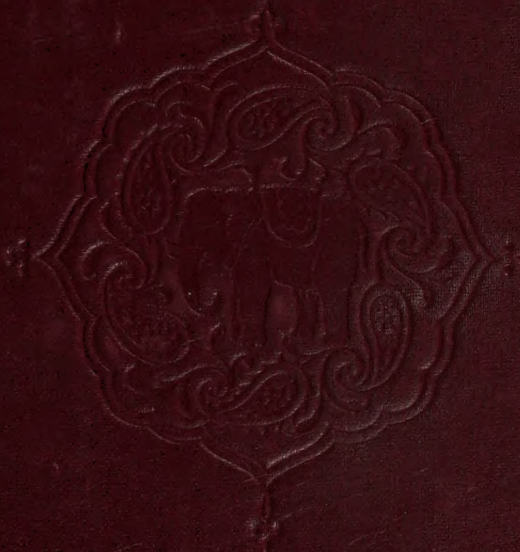
THE LIFE OF LORD CLIVE



SIR
GEORGE FORREST
C. I. E.

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THE LIFE OF LORD CLIVE

T. Gainsborough Pinx.t

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Robert Lord Clive

Baron of Plassey

To the Hon.ble the Court of Directors, of the United Company of Merchants of England,

TRADING to the East Indies.

This Plate as most humbly INSCRIBD

By their Most much Obliged

& Devoted Servant

John Ryall

The Life of
LORD CLIVE

By
SIR GEORGE FORREST, C.I.E.

With Six Photogravure Plates
and other Illustrations

VOLUME II

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The Life of Lord Clive

CHAPTER I

1757–8: AFTER PLASSEY

AT 5 P.M., when Clive was on the point of entering the entrenchment, and victory had been assured, the letter from Meer Jaffier was delivered. The messenger excused the delay on the somewhat flimsy ground that he was afraid of the cannonade. Meer Jaffier informed Clive that he had been in the Nawab's presence on the plain, and had observed that everybody was intimidated. "He sent for me and flung his *turband* off before me, and one day he made me write on the side of the *Koran* so that I cannot come over to you. By the blessing of God you have the better of the day." He urged Clive "to attack him at 3 in the morning; they will run away, and then will be my opportunity. The forces want to return to the City. Attack him in the night by all means. We three shall be to the left of the Nabob. Coja Haddee will remain firm to the Nabob. If you come, you may have an opportunity of seizing (him). We three are ready for your service and will see you by and by." The traitor's advice may have been sincere, but his conduct during the day was certainly dubious. Late in the evening Clive received the following brief note from Meer Jaffier: "I congratulate you on executing your design. Mirza Aumar Beg, or Mr. Watts, or Coja Petrus, send one of them to me. I am here on the banks of the lake agreeable to your desire." In the morning Clive sent Omar Beg and Mr. Scrafton to conduct

Meer Jaffier to Daudpur. He set forth for the British camp accompanied by his son. He was full of suspicion and misgiving that Clive might resent his conduct in not joining him according to his promise. When he arrived at the camp and "the guards drew out to receive him as he passed, he started as if he thought it was all over with him; nor did his countenance brighten up till the Colonel embraced him, and saluted him Soubah of the three provinces; advising him to hasten to the capital to prevent its being plundered, and to assume the title of Soubah; in which he would support him with all his force as soon as possible." Meer Jaffier, following the advice of Clive, pushed on at once towards the capital, and Clive marched in the same direction in the evening. Before leaving Daudpur Clive forwarded the following dispatch to the Select Committee:

GENTLEMEN,—I wrote you last Night of the Victory we had gained over the Nabob. I am now more at Leisure to give you a particular Account of the Action. About Six in the Morning the whole Army appeared marching towards us from Daudpoore inclining their March to the Right of Placis Grove as if they intended to surround us. They took Possession of the adjacent Eminencies with their Cannon which appeard to be regularly supported by their Horse & Foot. A Detachment of their Army commanded by Meer Murdun, & supported by about 30 Frenchmen, with several pieces of Cannon, took Possession of a Tank within Musquet Shot of us, from thence and from the Rest of their Artillery then up, consisting of 12 Pieces of Cannon from 24 to 3 Pounders, they cannonaded us very briskly and had their Cannon well pointed. We played only 3 Field Pieces against them, but were so happy as to kill Meer Muordun Bahdre Ally Cawn, Mohun Loll's Son in Law, the Commander of the Belears, and several other Officers of Distinction. This Loss had such an Effect on them that they abandoned the Tank, which we advanced and took Possession of immediately. Mohun Loll and Manickchund were the first to retreat, and were presently followed by the Nabob, Meer Cassum and others, but the French making a Stand at a Breast Work that was Part of the Fortification of their old Camp put some Courage into their Troops again, and drew up within their old Camp and in the Front of the Grove, and their Musquetry, supported by their Horse, got Possession of a Bank within Musquet Shot of the Tank, from thence & from their old Camp they kept up a continual Fire on us, and made many Attempts to bring their Cannon on, but we kept so brisk a Fire that they could not get their Cooleys and Oxen to advance, At about 4 the Grenadiers

and Sepoys stormd both these places; at the same Time their Ammunition blew up, after which the Enemy fled with the utmost Precipitation and we pursued them till Night. We have taken about 40 pieces of Cannon, and the Roads are strewed with Hakarys and Baggage of all Kinds; the Loss of the Enemy I consider to be about 500 men. We have had about 20 Europeans & 30 Sepoys killed and wounded; during the warmest part of the Action we observed a large Body of Forces composing the left Wing of the Army marching towards the Right of Placis Grove; these proved to be Jaffeir Ally Khan and his Party, but as they made no Signal to testify their being Friends, we fired on them and made them keep their Distance; I have the Pleasure to inform you Meer Jaffeir came to me this morning made many Expressions of Gratitude to the English, and assured us he would be faithful to his Treaty, his Forces are about 3000 Men and he tells me the principal Zemidars have promis'd him the Nabob shall not escape. He is now on his March to the City. As the Troops have undergone much Fatigue I cannot expect to get further than Moneawa to Night. I have no further Intelligence of the Nabob than that he made the best of his Way to the City. I hear he has destroy'd our Factory at Cossimbuzar.

On the 25th the British force reached Mandipur, or Maidapur, the Company's country seat near Cossimbazar, and remained there till June 27, "when we marched one battalion to the English and the other to the French Factory at Cossimbazar." [1] Clive's intention was to have entered the capital that day, but the entry was postponed on account of the Seths having warned Mr. Watts that there was a plot to assassinate Clive on his way through the town. While encamped at Mandipur Clive received a reply, written the day Plassey was won, to his letter of the 20th seeking the advice of the Select Committee. He was "instructed to force on a decisive engagement if there is any prospect of success." [2] Clive replied with caustic severity:

"I have received your letter of the 23rd instant, the contents of which are so indefinite and contradictory that I can put no other construction on it, than an intent to clear yourselves at my expense, had the expedition miscarried. It puts me in mind of the famous answer of the Delphic oracle to Pyrrhus, *'Aio te Æacide Romanos vincere posse.'*"

[1] Eyre Coote's Journal. Clive writes: "I encamped without, to prevent ravage and disorder, first at Mandepoor and afterwards at the French factory at Sydabad."—Letter from Colonel Clive to Select Committee, Fort Saint George, dated Muxadavad, July 2, 1757. [2] Select Committee, June 23, 1757.

On June 29 Clive, escorted by "only a party of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys," [1] entered Murshidabad, which he described in after years as "extensive, populous and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first, possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city." Through the narrow, winding streets of the capital, radiant with living masses of colour, Clive, escorted by his troop, made his way to a palace and a garden spacious enough to accommodate all the troop which accompanied him. "Upon the Colonel's arrival, Jaggutseat,[2] and several of the great men, anxious for their fate, sent their submission, with offers of large presents, which the Colonel refused, assuring them he desired nothing but their assistance in settling the government." "The Hindu millionaires, as well as other men of property," Clive told the House of Commons, "made me the greatest offers (which, nevertheless, are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required), and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present Court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of: but preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the last hour of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal."

In the afternoon Clive, accompanied by Meer Jaffier's son Meeran, proceeded in state to the royal palace, where Meer Jaffier and "all the Rajahs and great men of the court were waiting for him." In the hall of audience was the *musnud*, or throne, which Surajah Dowla used on State occasions.

[1] Letter from Colonel Clive to Select Committee, Fort Saint George, dated Muxadavad, July 2, 1757. Eyre Coote enters in his Journal:

"*June 29th.*—A detachment of 100 of the King's troops with 300 *seapoys* under the command of Major Grant ordered us a guard to the Commander-in-Chief to go with him to Muxadavad.

"*June 30th.*—The detachment ordered yesterday, reinforced by the Company's Grenadiers, 200 *seapoys*, and two field pieces, escorted Colonel Clive to Muxadavad, the whole army ordered in readiness to march at a moment's warning."

[2] Jagat Seth, "the Merchant of the World."

As Meer Jaffier declined taking his seat on it, Clive handed him to it, and saluted him as Nawab. He then, "in compliance with the custom of the country, made his submission to him as Soubah, by presenting him with a few pieces of gold; in which he was followed by all the great men present." [1] Clive then addressed the great nobles and officers of state, and what he said is told in the letter to the Select Committee which he wrote the next day:

GENTLEMEN,—I entered the city yesterday morning with a party of 200 Europeans and 300 *seapoys*, and *took up my quarters at Moraud Baug near the palace*. In the afternoon I waited on Jaffeir Ally Cawn, being escorted to him by his son. As I found he declined taking his seat on the *musnud*, I handed him to it; and saluted him as Nabob, upon which his courtiers congratulated him and paid him the usual homage. As this was a visit of ceremony, we could enter very little upon business. I only attempted to convince them, that it was not the maxims of the English to war against the Government, but that Surajah Dowlat not only would not fulfil the treaty he had entered into with us, but was taking measures by calling in the French to destroy us; but it had pleased God to overthrow him, and that as the present Nabob was a brave and good man, the country might expect to be quiet and happy under him; that for our parts we should not anyways interfere in the affairs of Government, but leave that wholly to the Nabob; that as long as his affairs required it, we were ready to keep the field, after which we should return to Calcutta and attend solely to commerce, which was our proper sphere and our whole aim in these parts.

On my return home I had a visit from Juggut Seat with whom I had a good deal of conversation. As he is a person of the greatest property and influence in the three *subahs*, and of no inconsiderable weight at the *Mogul's* Court, it was natural to determine on him, as the properest person to settle the affairs of this Government; accordingly when the Nabob returned my visit this morning, I recommended to him to consult Juggut Seat on all occasions, which he readily assented to, and immediately proposed, that as the money in the Treasury fell short of his expectations, and was not sufficient to satisfie his obligations to us, and leave him wherewithal for his necessary expences, Juggut Seat should likewise mediate that matter between us; which proposal was too agreeable to me to decline, for, as I had sufficient reason to think great sums had been secreted and made away with by his Ministers, it would have been both a difficult and invidious task for me to have sifted into this affair. *Accordingly we agreed to visit Juggut Seat* immediately, that all

[1] Scrafton, p. 98.

subjects for heart burnings on this account on either side might be removed out of hand; which being put in practice, Juggut Seat after a long but friendly debate settled the point as follows: that we should be paid one-half of our demand immediately, two-thirds in money and one-third in jewels, plate and goods, and the other half should be paid within three years at three yearly and equal payments. When I consider the state of the Treasury as it appeared to us, and that a sufficiency must necessarily be left to the Nabob for payment of his troops, to whom long arrears were due for services under the late Nabob, I cannot say but the terms exceeded my expectation.

As it was absolutely necessary to satisfy Roy Dulub, who is the principal Minister, and through whose hands our affairs must pass, I thought it not improper to admit him to a commission of 5 *per cent.* and Juggut Seat representing that he had been a sufferer of seven *lack* by the French, and as he was joining in measures for their extirpation, it was probable he should never get paid; I agreed, provided you approved of it, that he might take what goods of theirs should be found at their out-Settlements and *aurungs*,[1] and the ballance should be made good by our Company, provided he could not recover it from them. After which he assured us, that we might be persuaded of his best services, and rest satisfied that he would get the present Nabob confirmed from Delhi, represent our transactions in the fairest light, and procure for us any *phirmaund* [2] we may have occasion for. His advice to the Nabob in general was to replace Allyverdi Cawn's officers in their old posts.

It was agreed that letters should be wrote by the Nabob and myself to the *Naib* [3] of Patna with offers of friendship, and desiring him to deliver up Surajah Dowlat or drive him out of the Province, as we understood he had taken his route that way.

That for fear of refusal we should keep ourselves in readiness to march northwards, and that the My Rajah should be desired to prepare to march into the province of Patna on his side.

If you can prevail on the Admiral to fit out and mann two sloops-of-war, and let them proceed immediately to Patna, it will be very agreeable to the Nabob and of great service to the general cause.

I must request the favour to forward to me immediately Persian copies of the treaties with Surajah Dowlat and Jaffeir Ally Cawn and the *perwannahs* and *dusticks* [4] given us by the former. If the translations are ready, I should likewise be glad of them, as I have brought none of my papers with me.

[1] *Aurung*—from Persian *Aurang*, a place where goods are manufactured, a depot for such goods. During the Company's trading days this term was applied to their factories for the purchase on advance of native piece goods. —Hobson-Jobson.

[2] *Phirmaund*—*Farmán* (from the verb *farmúdan*, to command, order)—a mandate, an order, a command, a royal patent.

[3] *Naib*—a deputy, a lieutenant.

[4] *Dusticks*, *dustuck* (*dastahand*, signature)—a passport, a permit.

At the conference held at the Seths' house Omichund was present, " and when the real treaty came to be read," Clive told the Parliamentary Committee that " the indignation and resentment expressed on that man's countenance bars all description. He said, ' This cannot be the treaty ; it was a red treaty I saw.' That his Lordship replied, ' Yes, Omichund, this is a white treaty.' " [1]

According to Orme,

" the conference being ended, Clive and Scrafton went towards Omichund, who was waiting in full assurance of hearing the glad tidings of his good fortune ; when Clive said, ' It is now time to undeceive Omichund ' : on which, Scrafton said to him in the Indostan language, ' Omichund, the red paper is a trick ; you are to have nothing.' These words overpowered him like a blast of sulphur ; he sunk back, fainting, and would have fallen to the ground, had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms ; they carried him to his palankin, in which they conveyed him to his house, where he remained many hours in stupid melancholy, and began to shew some symptoms of insanity. Some days after, he visited Colonel Clive ; who advised him to make a pilgrimage to some pagoda ; which he accordingly did soon after to a famous one near Maulda : he went, and returned insane, his mind every day more and more approaching to idiotism ; and, contrary to the usual manners of old age in Indostan, still more to the former excellence of his understanding, he delighted in being continually dressed in the richest garments, and ornamented with the most costly jewels. In this state of imbecility, he died about a year and a half after the shock of his disappointment."

Orme's account was adopted by James Mill, who writes :

" When Omichund, upon the final adjustment, was told that he was cheated and found that he was a ruined man, he fainted away and lost his reason. He was from that moment insane. Not an Englishman, not even Mr. Orme, has yet expressed a word of sympathy and regret." [2]

But Omichund did not become a ruined man by the loss of his blackmail, and there is substantial reason to doubt the accuracy of Orme's statement with regard to the effect the disappointment had on his intellect. On July 3 Scrafton wrote to Drake, " Omichund shams sick, and swears he has

[1] Report of the Select Committee.
[2] " History of British India," Vol. III., p. 136, by Mill.

lost faith in man." The Select Committee wrote to Clive on July 6: "It would be better that Omichund was in Calcutta lest he do prejudice to the cause." Clive, however, did not act on their advice, for a month after he wrote to the Committee requesting their support to enable Omichund to perform his contract for the supply of saltpetre at Patna. But Omichund continued his old game of intrigue, and on August 6 Clive informed the Secret Committee:

"Omichund likewise had merited well while acting in concert with Mr. Watts, but I had reason to think his intriguing disposition was carrying him too far in the pursuit of his private interest, therefore recommended to him a visit of devotion to Malda. He is a person capable of rendering you great services while properly restrained, therefore not to be wholly discarded."

While the Select Committee was holding a meeting on June 26, Clive's brief note, announcing the decisive victory on the field of Plassey, was "this instant" handed to them. Three days later "The Admirals and Select Committee" sent him the following letter of congratulation:

"The revolution effected by your gallant conduct, and the bravery of the officers and soldiers under you is of extraordinary importance, not only to the Company but to the British nation in general; that we think it incumbent to return you and your officers our sincere thanks on behalf of His Britannic Majesty and the East India Company for your behaviour on this critical and important occasion."

The same day Watson sent him the following private note:

Dear Sir,—Your Letter of the 23^{d} ins^{t} to the Secret Committee & myself informing us of your Success against the Nabob Saraja Dowla has given me the greatest Pleasure. M^{r} Pocock desires to joyn wth me in Congratulating you thereon, & in best Wishes for the same good success in all you undertake, that our Affairs may be soon Happily Settled, & a Speedy end put to the present Troubles.

On June 30 Clive replied in these words:

I return you many thanks for your Obliging Letter: every thing has ended to our wishes as will Appear by the Enclosed Letter to which I beg Leave to refer you. The Nabob is preparing a present for you & Admiral Pocock & will request at the same time that You

will fit out 2 or 3 Armed Sloops to proceed immediately to Patna should any Disturbances arise there & the Army be Obliged to March.

On July 2 he forwarded the following to the Select Committee :

GENTLEMEN,—I have received the letter you did me the honour to write. Whatever merit may be due to me in this affair is overpaid by the notice you have taken of it. I shall not fail to acquaint the officers with your sentiments of their behaviour.

In my last I informed you the Nabob was fully confirmed and proclaimed *Subah* of the three Provinces, and to-day he sends presents to the two Admirals and President.

Surajah Dowlat will be in the City this evening; the Nabob, who is a humane, generous and honest Prince, intends only to confine him and to allow him all the indulgence which a prison can admit of.

Yesterday we began to embark the treasure in boats, and in two days shall despatch under a proper guard 75 *lack*, two-thirds of the sum stipulated to be paid in ready money off hand, 33⅓ belong to the Company, 16⅔ to the navy and army, 16⅔ to private Europeans, and 9 to the Blacks.

I must therefore request the favour of Admiral Watson to send the boats of the squadron as far as Nudia to escort the treasure to Calcutta, our whole force being necessary here on many occasions ; our guard will conduct them as far as that place, and deliver over the charge of the treasure to the commanding officer of the boats as soon as he arrives ; each boat contains one *lack* in a large chest, nailed down and sealed.

The joy of the settlement when they heard of Plassey was unbounded. Captain Latham, the admiral's aide-de-camp, a staunch friend of Clive, wrote to him on July 5 :

" We talk of great doings on this happy occasion and expect a world of guns to be fired and the Ladies all to get footsore with dancing. I can assure you that a Bumper goes to your health each day in every house from the Admiral's downwards."[1]

Besides the gifts to the two admirals and the President, Clive himself received a private donation of £160,000 from the grateful Nawab.[2] The acceptance of the present by the two

[1] Letter from Captain Latham, Calcutta, July 5, 1757.

[2] " His Lordship being asked, What might be the particular value in money or jewels received by him and such other gentlemen as he may recollect ? said, He received about 16 lack of rupees clear, after deducting commission and all other articles ; that he received no jewels, but all in money ; that he believed Mr. Watts might receive altogether about 8 lack ; Mr. Walsh about 5 ; there

admirals was not contrary to "the King's regulations," nor the acceptance by the President and Clive contrary to any existing rule of the Company, whose servants they were. When the directors heard that these large presents had been made, they wrote that they did not intend "to break in upon any sums of money which have been given by the Nawab to particular persons by way of free gift or gratuity for their services." Clive refused to accept any gifts from the nobles and bankers of Murshidabad, but he regarded the present from the Nawab as a legitimate token of gratitude for the service he had rendered. He made no concealment of the transaction. He mentioned it in his official and private letters. He wrote at the time to John Payne:

. . . Exclusive of which Treaty or any Agreement whatever, the Nabob of his own Free will for the Services rendered him made me a present much beyond my Expectations, part of which I bestowd on those immediately about me & one or two of the Principal Officers: I never made the least Secret of this Affair—but always thought the World ought to be acquainted with the Nabob's Gratitude.

As to what was given to the Committee, perhaps you will say very undeservedly, I may venture to assure you, what is no Secret, that without some such provision I should have found it a difficult Task to have executed the late Glorious Expedition.

Thus Sir you have matters of Fact as to private Money Concerns; if I had been disposed to grow rich by receiving presents from any other Hands but those of the Nabob, surely no one had ever the like Opportunity; but there is not that man living among the daily Temptations which Offerd who can accuse me of receiving anything of Value but from the Nabob himself. I have troubled you with these particulars because among some it may be computed as a Crime my being rich: if it be a crime, you Sir are truly acquainted with the Nature of it.

In the dusk of the evening on July 2 Surajah Dowla was brought a prisoner to Murshidabad. Eleven days had

were 3 or 4 more, but could not recollect the sums; that he thinks Mr. Scrafton had 2 lack, but is not certain: These donations were given exclusive of the sums stipulated for the gentlemen of the Committee, council, army, and navy. . . . His Lordship also said, That these presents were not paid down at the time, but by installments; and in a subsequent part of his Lordship's evidence (which is placed here in order to lay the subject matter more connectedly before the house) being asked, by what installments the presents, over and above those stipulated for the army, navy, council, and committee, were paid? he said, that he knew of no agreement, but they were paid half down, and half in about 15 months, to the best of his remembrance."

passed since flying from the battlefield he reached the splendid palace which an ancestor had built as the capital. He had filled it with hidden treasure, and the next day he was employed in bringing it out and "in lavishing considerable sums among his troops to engage them to another battle, but to no purpose." He sought the advice of his chief officers. "Some advised him to deliver himself up to the Colonel, against whom he could have no hope of success, having been twice defeated by him." But this advice the Nawab regarded as the advice of traitors. When about twelve at night the fatal news was brought him of Meer Jaffier's arrival in the city, closely followed by the British force, he was filled with fear, and he resolved to flee.

"He put Lutf-en-nessa (Lutf-unnisa) his consort and a number of favourites into covered coaches and covered chairs, loaded them with as much gold and as many jewels as they could contain, and taking with him a number of elephants, with his best baggage and furniture, he quitted his palace about three in the morning and fled."[1]

His intention was to join M. Law, who was hastening to his assistance, but instead of taking the direct road to Rajmahal, Surajah Dowla, feeling certain that orders would be sent to the neighbouring rajahs to intercept him, took a cross road and made his way to a landing-place where boats at all times were kept ready, and the fugitives immediately embarked on them. After a stiff pull up the stream for nearly seventy miles, the shore opposite to Rajmahal was reached on June 30. Surajah Dowla and his women being consumed

[1] Seir Mutaquherin, Vol. I., pp. 770–771—Clive's evidence. Clive states: "That when Serajah Dowla arrived at the city, his palace was full of treasure; but with all that treasure, he could not purchase the confidence of his army; he was employed in lavishing considerable sums among his troops, to engage them to another battle, but to no purpose. About twelve at night the fatal news was brought him of Meer Jaffier's arrival at the city, closely followed by the English army; he then in despair gave up all for lost, and made his escape out of one of the palace windows, with only two or three attendants." Scrafton writes: "He disguised himself in a mean dress, and stole out of a window in the dead of night, with no attendants but one faithful eunuch." Orme says: "Having disguised himself in a mean dress, he went secretly at ten o'clock at night out of a window, carrying a casket of his most valuable jewels, and attended only by his favourite concubine and the eunuch." Watts and Walsh wrote to Clive on June 26: "Su Rajah Dowlat we found had escaped with very few attendants at 12 at night having sent off at 10 in the morning all his women, 50 loaded elephants carrying all his jewels and some gold Mohurs."

with hunger landed there, and proceeded to the cell of a Mohammedan dervish, named Dana Shah, and asked him to give them some food. He received them courteously and proceeded to prepare some kedgeree. The dervish considered the party were only some of the many travellers who passed that way, for Surajah Dowla had disguised himself in mean attire. The suspicions of the dervish were, however, aroused "on casting his eyes on the very rich slippers of his guest." He questioned the boatman, who soon gave him full information. "This man whom he had either disobliged or oppressed in the days of his full power rejoiced at this fair opportunity of glutting his resentment and enjoying his revenge." [1] He dispatched a messenger informing Meer Cossim,[2] the Governor of Rajmahal, Meer Jaffier's brother-in-law, of his discovery, and, in order to allay suspicion, he kept himself busy preparing the food. On the receipt of the intelligence Meer Cossim and Meer Daud crossed the river and, proceeding to the cell of the dervish, seized the unfortunate fugitives. Surajah Dowla was dispatched at once under a strong guard by boat to Murshidabad.

"Mir-cassem-qhan, who had got Lutf-nessa in his power, engaged her, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to disclose where was her casket of jewels; and this casket, the value of which could not be computed but by lacs, fell in his hands of course. Mir-daud, on this example, laid his hands upon the other ladies, and seized whatever he could come at; so that the people with them, on seeing how matters went, made haste to seize whatever was of their conveniency." [3]

On July 2 Surajah Dowla was led as a felon through the streets of the capital to his former palace.

"He was in so wretched a condition, that the people of God, who saw him in that wretchedness, and remembered the delicacy, the glory, and the care and pomp in which he had been bred from his very infancy, forgot at once the ferocity of his temper, and the shameful actions of his life, and gave themselves up to every sentiment of pity and compassion, on beholding him pass by."

On hearing of the arrival of Surajah Dowla, Meer Jaffier "held a council of his most intimate friends, about the disposal of him, who all agreed that it would be dangerous to grant him his

[1] Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. I., p. 775. [2] Mir Kasem Ali Khan.
[3] Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. I., p. 776.

life, but that he should immediately be put to death, lest the Colonel's clemency and moderation should plea for his preservation." [1]

As Meer Jaffier was not prepared to incur the odium of putting him to death, he committed him to his son Meeran,[2] "recommending him earnestly in public to take the surest methods to prevent his escape, but at all events to preserve his life." [3] Meeran, the Mohammedan historian informs us, was "more expeditious and quick-minded in slaughtering people and in committing murders" than his father: "having a peculiar knack at such matters, and looking upon every infamous or atrocious deed as an act of prudence and foresight. His system was, that such sensations, as pity and compassion, answered no other purpose but that of spoiling business." Meeran ordered Surajah Dowla to be confined near his own apartment, and he then proposed to his friends that they should go at once and slay him. "This was peremptorily refused by them all, to a man, not one of them chusing to sully his hands with so ugly an action; and some even complained of the proposal." At length one Mohammed Beg "accepted the commission, which so many had rejected with indignation." When the assassin, accompanied by the guard, entered the room in which the royal prisoner was confined,

"Seradj-ed-doulah had no sooner cast his eyes upon that miscreant than he asked, whether he was not come to kill him? And the other having answered in the affirmative, the unfortunate Prince, on this confession, despaired of his life: he humbled himself before the Author of all mercies, asked pardon for his past conduct, and then turning to his murderer, 'They are not then,' (broke he with a passionate tone of voice), 'they are not satisfied with my being ready to retire into some corner, there to end my days upon a pension': (here he paused a while; and, as if recollecting something, he added)

[1] Scrafton, p. 99. [2] Miran.

[3] Watts's Memoirs, p. 107. Watts remarks: "It has been surmised, and very probably not altogether without Grounds, that there was something of Collusion in this Matter between the Father and the Son; a Thing indeed not at all unfrequent in this Part of the World; and what made it pass for a Kind of Justice, was the Remembrance that People had, that this unhappy young Man, *Suraja Dowlat*, had been often employed in the very same Acts, by the old Suba, Aliverdy Cawn, who availing himself of the sanguinary Disposition of his Grandson, made use of him to remove such as through Avarice, Suspicion, or Resentment, he inclined to have taken away, and then, to save Appearances, disavowed the Fact."

'No—they are not,—and I must die—to atone for Hossein-culi-qhan's murder.' He had no time to say more; for at these words the butcher smote him repeatedly with his sabre; and some strokes falling upon that beauteous face of his, so renowned all over Bengal for it's regularity and sweetness, the Prince sunk on the ground: but with these words in his mouth: 'Enough—that is enough—I am done for,—and Hossein-culi-qhan's death is revenged.' On uttering these words, he fell on his face, returned his soul to it's Maker, and emerged out of this valley of miseries, by wading through his own blood: his body was hacked to pieces, by strokes without number, and the mangled carcase being thrown across the back of an elephant, was carried throughout the most frequented parts of the city, by *way of notifying the accession of the new sovereign:* but what is singular, and yet is universally attested, the elephant-driver having for some particular business of his own, stopped for a moment, it chanced to be precisely at Hossein-culi-qhan's door, where some drops of blood were seen to drop from the mangled body, and they fell on the very spot where that nobleman had been murdered but two years before." [1]

Thus perished Surajah Dowla in the twentieth year of his age and the fifteenth month of his reign.[2] His delight was in cruelty and bloodshed, and it happened unto him. Meer Jaffier paid Clive a visit, "and thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy for that Surajah Dowlat had on the road wrote letters to many of the Zemindars of the army and occassioned some commotion among them in his favour." [3]

On July 3, the day that the mangled remains of Surajah Dowla were being paraded through the streets of Murshidabad, a procession of two hundred great country boats laden with treasure floated down the tributary stream on which the city stands. A strong detachment from the army escorted it.

[1] Seir Mutaqherin, pp. 778–779.

[2] Stewart's History. Watts writes: "Such was the end of Suraja Dowlat, in the Prime of his Youth, being at the Hour of his Death scarce Twenty-five Years of Age. An End suitable to his Life, which had been spent in Violence and Blood!"

[3] Letter from Colonel Clive to Secret Committee, London, dated Muxadavad, July 26, 1757. Watts states that when Meer Jaffier appeared displeased at Surajah Dowla being put to death, "his Son alleged, that the captive Suba had found means to write and convey Letters upon the Road to several Jemidars, in order to excite a Revolt in the Army; to prevent which, he knew no other certain Remedy than that of depriving him of Life, which he thought was likewise better done, without expecting any farther Orders."

"As soon as they entered the great river, they were joined by the boats of the squadron; and all together formed a fleet of 300 boats, with music playing, drums beating, and colours flying; and exhibited to the French and Dutch, by whose settlements they passed, a scene far different from what they had beheld the year before, when the Nabob's fleet and army passed them, with the captive English, and all the wealth and plunder of Calcutta." [1]

The fleet reached Calcutta on July 6, and the joy of the settlement was unbounded.

Clive remained at Murshidabad, striving to surmount the complicated difficulties of his great enterprise. He had by the force of arms put on the throne of Bengal a military commander in the place of a prince who reigned by birthright, not derived from a long line of illustrious predecessors, but from his grandfather, another military usurper. But to establish a government for the great province free from the danger of revolution and invasion was no light task. He first had to bring the refractory deputy princes, who were in league with the French, to submission. M. Law, with a large body of officers and about two hundred French soldiers, had marched down as far as Rajmahal to Surajah Dowla's assistance, and were within three hours of him when he was taken prisoner. As soon as Law heard of the Nawab's capture, he retired by forced marches. Clive sent a detachment under Major Eyre Coote, consisting of 220 British troops and 500 sepoys with a detail of artillery, in pursuit of him.

The equitable distribution of the treasure sent to Calcutta was the next matter which engaged Clive's attention. The compensation to be given to the different sufferers was settled without much friction, but the distribution payable to the army and navy proved a difficult and delicate task. In order to grapple with it, Clive assembled a Council of War to which officers were deputed from every branch of the troops employed. It was agreed "that everything should be determined in this Council of War by the Majority of Votes." [2] It was further "agreed that the Officers and Sailors belonging to the

[1] Scrafton, p. 98.
[2] Original MS. of "A Council of War held at Muxadavad, July 3, 1757."

Squadron which came with the Army on this Expedition to Muxadavad are not to receive Prize Money with the Military." Clive protested vigorously against this decision. Four days after the meeting of the Council, Clive wrote to Watson :

"I took the first opportunity of a little spare time to call a Council of War for the division of that share of the prize money which belongs to the army. I am sorry to say, that several warm and selfish debates arose ; and I cannot help thinking, that the officers belonging to the navy with the expedition have had injustice done them, in not being allowed to share agreeable to the land division, which was carried against them by a great majority—Enclosed I send you the proceedings of the Council of War. The last article, after having been in a manner agreed to, was again brought upon the carpet ; and notwithstanding I represented to the gentlemen, in the strongest sense, that the money could not be divided till it was shroffed, and the agents of both parties present, without the greatest injustice to the navy, they still persisted in giving their opinions for an immediate division of the money ; upon which I over-ruled their votes, and broke up the Council of War.

"Yesterday I received the enclosed paper and protest, which you have with my answer. I have put those officers who brought the paper in arrest, and ordered Captain Armstrong, one of the ring-leaders, down to Calcutta this morning. The Major was deputed to me by the officers to desire I would forget and forgive what was past, upon a proper acknowledgment in writing : I promised to comply with his request, so that I beg you will not make this public, till you hear further from me."

The following letter, addressed to the malcontent officers, shows the qualities—directness, vigour of statement, and cogency of argument—which mark Clive's official communications :

GENTLEMEN,—I have received your remonstrance and protest. Had you consulted the dictates of your own reason, those of justice, or the respect due to your commanding officer, I am persuaded such a paper, so highly injurious to your own honour as officers, could never have escaped you.

You say you were assembled at a council to give your opinion about a matter of property. Pray, Gentlemen, how comes it that a promise of a sum of money from the Nabob, entirely negotiated by me, can be deemed a matter of right or property ? So very far from it, it is now in my power to return to the Nabob the money already advanced, and leave it to his option, whether he will perform his promise or not . . You have stormed no town, and found the money there ; neither did you find it in the plains of Plassey, after

the defeat of the Nabob. In short, Gentlemen, it pains me to remind you, that what you are to receive is entirely owing to the care I took of your interest. Had I not interfered greatly in it, you had been left to the Company's generosity, who perhaps would have thought you sufficiently rewarded, in receiving a present of six months' pay; in return for which, I have been treated with the greatest disrespect and ingratitude, and, what is still worse, you have flown in the face of my authority, for over-ruling an opinion, which, if passed, would have been highly injurious to your own reputation, being attended with injustice to the navy, and been of the worst consequences to the cause of the nation and the Company.

I shall, therefore, send the money down to Calcutta, give directions to the agents of both parties to have it shroffed; and when the Nabob signifies his pleasure (on whom it solely depends) that the money be paid you, you shall then receive it, and not before.

Your behaviour has been such, that you cannot expect I should interest myself any further in your concerns. I therefore retract the promise I made the other day, of negotiating either the rest of the Nabob's promise, or the one third which was to be received in the same manner as the rest of the public money at three yearly equal payments.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) Robt Clive.

Moorshedabad,
July 5, 1757.

The officers withdrew their protest, and having offered at the same time an ample apology for having presented it, Clive at once replied, and his letter illustrates the generosity and manly sense of his character:

"Gentlemen,—I have ever been desirous of the love and good opinion of my officers, and have often pursued their interest in preference of my own. What passed the other day is now forgotten, and I shall always be glad of an opportunity of convincing you how much

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) Robt Clive.

Moorshedabad,
9*th July*, 1757

While Clive was arranging matters at Murshidabad, he received the following communication from Drake, dated July 8: "From a private letter it appears that the *Marlborough* is off Ingelee with Mrs. Clive and other ladies and gentlemen from town of Vizagapatam." The same post

brought Clive the startling news that the important factory at Vizagapatam had been captured by Bussy. At a meeting of the Madras Committee, held on June 16, it had been declared:

"As Vizagapatam is a settlement of very considerable value to our Honorable Masters as well as for the quantity of cloth there provided as in consideration of its being now the only inlet to the Northern Countries left in our possession, we are of opinion that it is necessary to secure it by all means possible against the attack of the enemy."

But "as the superiority of the French in this Province, and the unfinished state of our fortifications will by no means suffer us to weaken ourselves by any detachments from hence," it was agreed to write to Colonel Clive directing him to return with troops early in July and to land at Vizagapatam "if the state of the settlement should render it necessary." The risk of the settlement passing into French possession was greater than the Madras Committee judged it to be. When the *Marlborough* entered the port of Vizagapatam the factory was found to be invested by the van of Bussy's army. Captain Brohier, the Madras engineer, who had been transferred to Bengal in order to reconstruct the ruined fortifications of Calcutta, was on board, and the following letter, written by him at the moment, is an interesting addition to the records of the time:

D.r Sir,—We sailed from Madras the 20th Ult.o reached Vizagp.m the 24 and found the place invested by the Van of Mons.r de Bussy's Army, I went ashore that evening and the next morning visited all the Batterys & found them in tollerable good order with every body Alert at their Posts firing on some of the Enemys who had taken possession of the Adjacent Heights which indeed command all the Place, the Western side is entirely open at least 1200 yards and had nothing before it but a fordable river, the Fort in itself is only a house surrounded with a Quadrangular irregular garden Wall at the angles of which they have form'd flanks of 10 & 12 f.t and 20 to 25 f.t faces the Rampart within is from 10 to 17 f.t broad but two sides of it form'd with the tarrasses of Godowns incapable of bearing Cannon the Parapets without banquets are incapable of admiting small arms to fire over till they are cut down afoot & a half As a banquet added to them might sink the tarrasses by it's weight in short the Place not being tenable against the Force that

Mons[r] de Bussy has it was Unanimously agreed that the Europeans should all embark on board the *Marlborough* and an Officer left with the Topasses & Seapoys to cover the retreat of the Troops and to Capitulate on the best terms he could with M[r] de Bussy after their embarkation but M[r] de Bussy having appear'd with the rest of his Army and Encampt within 3 Miles of the Fort sent a Summons to Surrender the Place to him and was answer'd he should have it on honourable terms, which were that the Garrison should march out with All the honours of War and that all private property should be secure to the proprietors ; his Answer was that the Europeans of the Garrison should be Prisoners of War ; as to the black troops they should have the liberty to go where they pleased, and as to the rest of M[r] Perceval's demands he should have no reason to be dissatisfied.

The Wind blowing fresh & the Barr high, all the Boat & fisher men having fled the Place on the Approach of the Army, the embarcation of the Troops was thought impracticable as We experienced Cap[t] Macleod & his people & myself having very nearly lost our lives three times in Attempt[s] to come off & were at last obliged to leave 5 Men behind one of which was drownded attempting to embark afterwards.

The Place having been deliver'd Up, the 26 about Noon we Weigh'd in doing which lost our Anchor and came here to get another, M[r] Perceval having wrote to request We should Stay a few days to take him & the rest of the Gentlemen Prisoners on Parole, on board in our Way to Bengall, they are now come down & will all embark with the Ladies of that Settlement this Evening when We shall immediately weigh.

This goes by *John Murphy* on board of whom I have 2 of my Horses & some furniture and Invoice of which I sent you in a former Letter by him which I hope you will receive and order to be put in some Godown with those I have sent you already by the *Protector*, hoping to have the Pleasure of embracing you Soon I am most truly

Dear Sir
Your most obedient
& most hum[l] serv[t]
J. Brohier

Ship *Marlborough*
Bimilipatam Road
1*st July* 1757.

Bussy's Force before Vizagap[m] was—

300 French } Infantry
200 Germans }
200 French Horse & Houssars
150 Artilery. 30 Pieces of Cannon
200 Morrattoes &
6000 Seapoys

M[r] Roberts

Clive could not leave Murshidabad and the army so long as the result of Eyre Coote's expedition was undecided. On July 6 Eyre Coote marched from there, and the following day "he continued his rout by water, only the Sepoys marching by land on the banks of the river." On the 8th he left the boats and European soldiers under the command of Captain Alexander Grant and pushed on by land in order to overtake the advanced body of sepoys. On the 9th he wrote to Clive from Sooty, where the Hugli ends and the Burra Gunga or Great Ganges commences:

"I arrived at Sotti last night, finding that the Horse, Seapoys &c. had left that place Yesterday. I am now pushing on In the two Bolias [1] I had from the Nazir, in order to Join them, & Expect to be at Rajamal with them In 4 Days. I shall halt there one day where I hope to have your Orders whether I shall proceed."

He adds in a postscript:

"If I find any possibility of Coming up with their Boats before they arrive at Patna I shall not Halt at Rajamal but proceed with the advanced Party & leave the Rear to be brought up by Cap[t] Grant."

Clive, in acknowledging this letter, wrote as follows on July 11:

"You will please to continue the pursuit of them as fast as possible, and to detain the Seapoys with you, but to let them proceed after and harrass them if they are not able to fight them."

The previous day Eyre Coote wrote to Clive as follows:

"I shall this night be at Rajamal, where I must stay till the Party comes up, as the Seapoys have neither Ammunition nor are they Strong enough to think of proceeding till Joind by the rest. One Company has not above 100 Cartridges. As soon as I am joind by Cap[t] Grant I purpose to proceed with all the Forces I can muster to give the enemy Battle: should they refuse to Accept of Terms, —I must request youll forward to me in the most expeditious way a supply of French Cartridges, some round & Grape Shot for the 6 Pounders; & Some more money. The Seapoys have seized upon

[1] *Boleas*—Indian boat, very long, but so narrow that the seats only accommodate one man. They carry, however, a multitude of rowers, and are remarkable for their swiftness.

Mr Alexr De Sousy [1] the Frenchman who offerd his Service to you at Sydabad, he was in a Dooly & in a moors Dress going as he says to Patna. His Letter to Major Grant I inclose & wait Your orders regarding him—As I have wrote to Capt Grant to join me with all Expedition & woud leave Sotti this morning, I expect he'll be at Rajamal in Three Days."

That night Eyre Coote, "with the advanced party of Sepoys and a small body of the Nabob's auxiliaries," arrived at Rajmahal, and the next day the boats anchored close upon the town. Bengal, trenched and levelled, was left behind and a new scene opened on them. A range of hills, "beautiful blue and woods" ran up the southern bank for many miles. At Rajmahal Eyre Coote halted for two days. He wrote to Clive on the 11th complaining that the two chief military officers refused to accompany him further than twelve miles, "till they have the Nabob's positive orders." He adds:

"I therefore request Sir youll be pleased to direct me how I shall proceed & If you think It proper That I shoud be joind, & Assisted by any of the Country forces; that they May have the Nabobs Orders to march where I march, & obey what Orders I give them. But If you think that With the Force I have, which amounts to 200 Europeans, four hundred & odd seapoys (their Companys being greatly deficient) To pursue Mr Law, whose Force by the best Intelligence is near 200 Europeans, 300 seapoys, & 6 ps Cannon: I shall upon the Receipt of your answer, which I beg may be as soon as possible, proceed.—Hitherto we have made the greatest Expedition, notwithstanding the Difficulties we have labourd under. If I receive your Letter by tomorrow night, my not being joind by the Nabobs Troops will have hitherto Occasiond us no delay. As Parriar Arrack is deemd very unwholesome I hope you'll order some good Arrack & Biscuit to follow us.—We labour under many disadvantages by the Nabob's having given no Directions to the People to look upon us as friends & going upon his Business. I leave It to your better Judgement to determine whether Were we orderd to return It woud not hurt us in the Opinion of the Country powers Considering how ready the french are to Invent Stories & to represent things in the worst Light."

The voyage up the Ganges at the stormiest season of the year was full of adventure. The mighty river at this time of inundation was many miles in width, like an arm of the sea, and when a monsoon storm, sudden and violent, burst,

[1] Eyre Coote spells the name De Sousy, Sausure, and Saussure (Eyre Coote's letters, Powis MSS.). Broome spells the name Saussure.

the waves were as the waves of the sea. The boatmen were helpless and the strong wind drove many of the clumsy boats on to the banks or one of the numerous islets of sand. Eyre Coote reported to Clive on the 13th the boats that were lost or damaged:

"I have Receed your two Letters dated the 9th & 11th Instants I acquainted you in my last under date the 11th of the Loss of the Boat with all the Arrack many of the rest were very near sharing the same Fate. The Small Amunition & one of the Tumbril Boats arrived only Yesterday Occasiond by the Strong Current & by their wanting half their Complement of Dandies.[1]—The roughness of the River & badness of the Boats & Tackle has made several of our Dandies leave us here for fear of the Danger In proceeding to Patna. —As to sending forward the Seapoys It was Impossible There being betwixt this & Baglepoor 5 Nullas which they could not pass without Boats, and they likewise wanted Amunition, which I would not supply them with before this Day.—Ever since I arrived here I have employed all the hands could possibly be procured in refitting the Boats which are still in a very Shatterd Condition—The Phousdari [2] of this Place has promised to get me 10 Boats by tomorow, & an additional Number of Dandies: I hope he'll be as good as his word else I cant help dreading the consequences to our fleet in its present Condition. Let it be as It will, I shall certainly set out tomorrow & Depend upon It I shall lose no Time in executing your Orders; Esteeming myself particularly interested in the success of this Expedition."

In the same letter he records the fate of Alexander Saussure, who was taken prisoner in a Moor's dress. He first came from Europe to Bombay as a volunteer in a Swiss Company of soldiers, but soon after left the East India Company's service:

"I mention'd to you in a former Letter That the Seapoys had apprehended on the Road, Disguised in a Moors Dress, Alexr Saussure & Inclosed to you his Letter addressed to Major Grant. I was Informed yesterday by the Sergeant of the Grenadiers Devergy, that he was endeavouring to Corrupt him to desert & to Carry over as many of the men with him as he Could The Sergeant seeming to Come into his scheme Induced him to disclose the Project he had formed for his Escape, by the Connivance of a seapoy one of the Guard that attended him. He showd him also a Letter he was writing to Mr Law (a Copy of which I Inclose to you) Upon the Report of the Sergeant I sent Mr Flaction who seized the Letter.

[1] *Dandies*—Beng. *danda*, from *dand*, a staff, an oar—boatmen.
[2] *Phousdar, Foujdar*—a military governor of a district.

Having ordered him to be brought before us, he acknowledged he wrote It: It was therefore my Opinion as Well as that of all the Officers that he merited Death as a Spy & he was accordingly Hanged. The Seapoy is to be tried this Day by a Court Martial of the Subedars. I have ordered the Sergeant for his Fidelity 100 R^{s} which I hope you will not think too much for the Service he has done. The Trifle of Money found on De Sausure I shall be Answerable for to the Agents. You see sir how much the French merit the Indulgence you grant them! This very man having had your Liberty to go where he pleased."

In his letter to Law, Saussure wrote:

"You, Sir, have it in your power, with the troops under your command, to get the better of the *English* detachment, who are now in pursuit of you. In the twinkling of an eye, you may entirely change the face of affairs here. Your name is in high repute among the *Moors*, and the military reputation of Mr. *Bussy* is so great and dreaded, that this party must instantly fly at his very name." He proceeded with advising Mr. Law, by a counter-march, to attack our troops in the night-time, in a certain place which he particularly described; assuring him, that by such a *coup* he might easily kill or make prisoners all the officers, especially those of the *Sepoys*, who were more addicted to drunkenness than even the Europeans themselves.—He concluded his letter with these words: "I wished to have delivered to you in person this intelligence, but on the third day of my journey, I had the misfortune to be arrested, disguised like a *Moor:* I shall do every thing in my power however to make my escape; for which purpose I beg you to send with the bearer, a good *Alcara*, who understands the Portuguese language.—The *English* arrived at *Rajamaul* the 11th instant."[1]

That Saussure deserved the fate of a spy there is no doubt:

"The *Sepoy* whom he had seduced, was tried the next day by a court-martial composed of *Subadars* and *Jamedars*, who finding him guilty of consenting to connive at, and assist *Alexander Sausure* in making his escape, ordered him 500 lashes with a ratan, and to be turned out of the service." [2]

This is the first instance on record in the Bengal Army of a Native Court Martial.

On the 15th Eyre Coote left Rajmahal. The sepoys were still obliged to march by land, and taking the road running along the foot of the hills, reached Sikreegully, a village at the base of a high rocky eminence at an angle of the Ganges.

[1] Ives, p. 159. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Eyre Coote visited the celebrated Sikreegully Pass (Difficult Pass),

"which is a road from about 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through a rock, and covered on each side by an impenetrable *Jungle* or coppice, while a rivulet or water-course, very hollow and impassable, runs near to the *Futtacks* or gate; if a ball were discharged here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road every where abounding with so many intricate windings." [1]

On the 16th the fleet was away again, and two days after, Eyre Coote reached Baghulpore in the province of Behar. Here he received the following from Clive:

MOORSHEDABAD 13*th July* 1757.

SIR,—There is such a Complaint against you from Seebnautray the Phousdar of Rajamal's Duan, as had (made) me blush, tho' I know not how to give Credit to it. He writes the Forces had enter'd their Fort, thrown down their Guns and Nogarras, plunder'd every part of it, and that the Soldeirs and Seapoys have gone into all the houses in the town, insulted their women and stole their effects. Such Behaviour may give the Country people a disgust to us and be of the utmost ill Consequence to the Company's affairs. I desire that henceforward you will not enter their Forts nor take anything from them, not even provisions if to be bought, and that you will have as little connection with Country people as possible.

The Nabob sends me word the French have left Bagglepoor and are marching northward. I hope you will be after them as fast as possible. I shall send you bills for 10 or 15000 Rupees on Patna.

I am Sir

Your most Obedient humble Servt.

RT. CLIVE.

To MAJOR EYRE COOTE.

The same day he also wrote to him thus:

MOORSHEDABAD 13*th July* 1757

SIR,—I received your Letters of the 10th and 11th Instants. I shall very soon inclose to you Letters from the Nabob to Phousdars and Jemedars of the Country to make them and their people obey you. When I sent you after Mr. Law, I gave you positive Orders to pursue him. Why then do you delay when your force is larger than his? I would have you follow him at all Events, whether you are join'd

[1] Ives, p. 160.

by Country people or not. I will give you Orders for some good Arrack, Biscuit, &c. to be sent to you immediately.

I am Sir
Your most Obedient humble Servant
Rt. Clive.

P.S.—The Nabob has wrote Mr. Law in the most positive terms to surrender.

To Major Eyre Coote.

On July 14 Clive wrote to Coote informing him of the capture of Vizagapatam, and he lets drop an ingenious suggestion:

Moorshedabad 14*th July* 1757

Sir,—Vizagapatam was surrender'd to Monsr. Bussie the 26th June, and Mr. Percival, the Officers and civil gentlemen are come down on their parole. Should there be an absolute necessity either for your being obliged to give battle in a disadvantageous situation or some other very urgent Reason, you may then offer Monsr. Law that himself, the Officers and civil Gentlemen under his Command may be exchanged for those come from Vizagapatam. But I would not have you make use of this liberty without the most pressing necessity. The Strictest Orders are gone from the Nabob to Ramnarain to pursue Law with the utmost vigour. I desire you'll do the same.

I am Sir
Your most Obedient humble Servt.
Robt. Clive.

To Major Eyre Coote.

Clive continued to press on Eyre Coote the necessity of a vigorous pursuit. "I rely on your not giving over the pursuit," he says on July 17, "while there is a possibility of overtaking him." Eyre Coote was at the same time employed in answering the censure implied in Clive's letters. He wrote from Baghulpore on July 18:

"I this morning recd your Letter of the 13th at Calgown as I was setting out for this Place—I cant help saying that the Paragraph In It relating to the Positive Orders you gave me at setting out, To pursue Mr. Law with the utmost expedition, has given me no small uneasiness. I assure you Sir, I have oft revolved in my Mind those Orders, but could not find that any One of them could Oblige me to do Impossibilities. If youll only take the Trouble to peruse my Letters you'll find my Reasons for staying two Days at Rajamal were for want of Dandies & Boats: & to endeavour to repair our Shatterd ones. I may venture to say, had I taken the advice of

all the Officers of the Detachment, I shou'd have made a longer stay there than I did : having come Away almost in as bad a Condition as I arrived there—As to representing my not having been joind by the Nabobs forces ; I thought It my Duty, as I found I had not near the Complement you told me I was to Command : & as I lookd upon it as a slight of the Nabob, to you, his endeavouring in this to Deceive you.—Had you yourself known the fatigue of Body, & uneasiness of Mind I have sufferd since I came upon this Expedition, you woud have pitied me, Instead of Condemning my Conduct : But I thank God I have long ago learnt to bear with Resignation this ; & other Ills attending the Life of a soldier—I am persuaded If you Converse with men who are Acquainted with the Journies we have made, that you'll find none of them of Opinion we have been Dilatory In getting halfway to Patna, at this season of the Year, in Ten Days. I assure you sir 'tis my greatest Ambition to merit your Approbation : But I fear I have not yet been so happy, notwithstanding my best endeavours, as to Obtain It. Last night a Coast Seapoy,who deserted from the French, joind Mootenbeg—On my Examining him, he told me he had been In Chandernagore during the Siege, & when taken, he & several more were set at Liberty by Kissnesing, & told to go where they pleased : Upon which he & the rest of them went, and Joind Mr. Law—About 10 Days ago he says he left them encampd at Mungeer, amounting to about 140 Europeans and 90 seapoys, all well armed, with 5 p^{s} Cannon & were in no want of Ammunition —That not having reced his Pay for some Time, & having had some Words with his Jemedar, had Induced him to Come & Offer his service to us—Mootenbeg has represented to me, That the Seapoys grumble a good deal, at the long & painful Marches they have been obliged to make : & that there were 3 or 4 of them whom he Could not Account for who had Dropt behind. I desired he would endeavour to hearten the Men, & keep up their Spirits : & that I woud represent to you their Fatigues, & if you thought It proper you woud make them some Additional Allowance.—The Officers beg I would represent to you the Hopes they have from your goodness of an extraordinary Allowance of Batta[1] In Consideration of the additional Expences & fatigues they are at."

In a postscript he replies to the charge of plundering brought against the forces :

"This moment I have reed your Letter of the 13th about the Complaint of the Phousdar of Rajamal which greatly surprises me.

[1] *Batta, bhata,* or *bhatta*—an extra allowance made to officers, soldiers, or other public servants when in the field or on other special grounds.—Hobson-Jobson. "In revenue matters it applies to the amount added to or deducted from any payment according to the currency in which it is paid as compared with a fixed standard coin. Discount on un-current or short-weighted rupees. A cess or charge imposed to make up for any probable deficiency in the coin."—Persian Correspondence.

Both I & Mr. Johnston Condescended to wait upon him to have Quarters assignd so as to prevent any Disturbance or Inconvenience to the Inhabitants He did of himself Conduct us to the Fort an Open square without any gates, the Area an Intire Dunghill & in which there were neither Guns to throw down nor Effects to Plunder & Here both Seapoys & soldiers were lodged & Confined by an Officer's & two Seapoy Guards Very much to the Dissatisfaction of the whole. By the Phousdars Desire I sent about the Tom Tom to assure the People of my Protection & that I woud redress upon Application any Injuries which might be done them which to the utmost of my Power I endeavoured to do. But notwithstanding I gave all encouragement to Discover Plunderers not one was found out. He indeed Complaind that somebody at the water side Stopt One of his Guns with Mud who did it I coud not find out nor can I be Answerable for such foolish actions. I now reply In general that he is a Villain & his Accusation false & that we all sufferd more at that Place than any where else he promising & Deceiving us Daily in every thing he promised to assist us in. By the next Opportunity I shall reply more fully & beg youll believe I shall always act so as to keep my Conduct Clear & my Enemies from having any handle over me."

The suggestion put forward by Eyre Coote that the officers should receive an extra allowance of *batta* kindled the ire of Clive. He replied thus:

MUXADABAD,
24*th July* 1757.

SIR,—I receiv'd your letter of the 18th. You may remember my Orders were to proceed in quest of Monsr. Law and his party without waiting or depending upon being join'd by any of the Nabobs forces. My reason for so doing was from a thorough conviction that the party under your Command was much superior in Strength to that under Mr. Law, and I will further add that the one half of your detachment is a full match for him. If I repeated those Orders, it was in Consequence of a letter receiv'd from you containing the enclosed particulars. The only chance of taking Law and his party depended upon Expedition, and by your letter I make no doubt but you have used as much as your Situation and the Obstacles you have met with would admit of.

It gives me infinite concern the Officers should make Application for an additional Allowance of Batta. I always thought their own Reputation and the honour of their Country would have been incitement sufficient with them to undergo hardships and fatigues, which could not much exceed those which the whole Army suffer'd in their march from Calcutta to Cassimbazar. I am the more surprised at it, because their allowance is beyond everything heard of in any other Service, without mentioning the good Effects of the Nabob's generosity

If Mr. Law and his party, or any part of them, fall into your hands, you will return with them as soon as possible, but if on the contrary, you have no hopes of overtaking them, or enticing their Men away by fair offers you will return, delivering a protest against Ramnarain for his want of spirit and activity in not stopping them. I hear the Nabob has threatened Vengeance against him if he does not exert himself, and if the French are not taken he will certainly suffer.

I am Sir
Your most Obedient humble Servt.
ROBT. CLIVE.

To MAJOR EYRE COOTE

On the 19th Eyre Coote continued his route and late at night reached Monghyr, whose fort, built on a precipitous rock, stands on a bend of the Ganges and is washed by the sacred waters. Here the red-coated British soldiers entered for the first time the real Hindostan. Eyre Coote attempted to enter the citadel, contrary to Clive's express orders, but the garrison "manned the ramparts and showed their lighted matches which obliged the troops to march round the walls." On the 22nd he left Monghyr, and three days after he writes to Clive a letter which is a record of a series of accidents and misfortunes. His own *budgerow* "was Cast against a Bank by the violence of the stream, and had a Plank stove; by which we were in imminent danger of being Sunk: several Other Boats, particularly the Tumbril Boat, narrowly escaped being lost." He therefore "judged it best to land all the men together with the guns and ammunition," and marched in the afternoon about six miles. The next morning he proceeded about twelve miles.

"The Soldiers during the whole of the March uttering Expressions full of Discontent; Complaining of the Fatigues they Suffer'd (which I cant deny have been greater than I've ever seen them undergo) Their want of Shoes, & Arrack; & that their Prize money has not been paid them—Refusing in a manner to march further. I endeavoured all I could to find out the Ringleader, & employd the Sergeants to Examine into It strictly. They Inform me this is not a new thing; they have been grumbling ever since they set Out. Finding the Men in this Mutinous Disposition & the Wind and River Favourable, I embark'd them; & marchd with the Seapoys & Artillery 3 Coss further to Bahar. I have had no further accounts

from Mr. Pearkes where Mr. Law is got to ; But purpose, If on my arrival at Patna I find he is yet in the Province to go on my self with the Seapoys, & leave the Europeans, who in their present Temper I dont think are to be depended upon, to Come on by easy marches under Command of Cap[t] Grant. I have sounded the heads of the Seapoys who Assure me they & their men (several of whom are sick & lame by hard marching) will follow me, for which I have engaged they shall be Rewarded. I shall be at Patna the Day after tomorrow & will Consult with the Nabob whether he'll go past the Bounds of his Province after the French."

On the arrival of the fleet at Patna, Eyre Coote

" sent the Sergeant to the Kings Troops, in hope I might have some Influence over them : Caused him to remind them how ready I had-ever been to Oblige them. Of how sensible I was of their bad Behaviour on this Occasion, Which If they did not Amend, I woud stigmatise them to the World & to their Own Regement by leaving them behind at Patna. One and all returnd me for Answer That that was what they desir'd ; That the officers wanted to kill them, in order to get their Prize money with which Intent they had Detaind It from them."

The next morning Eyre Coote, having pushed forward the sepoys and artillery by land, put off with the fleet, and at ten arrived at the city of Patna, the capital of the Province of Behar, " long celebrated in India," says an old traveller, " as the most fertile part of Hindostan." Ram Narain, the Governor of Behar, had remained faithful to Surajah Dowla, but when he heard of the death of his sovereign he proclaimed Meer Jaffier. His loyalty was naturally open to suspicion, and Eyre Coote, who considered that Ram Narain had not afforded him sufficient assistance in his march and was offended at his refusal to see him at once on his arrival, listened too readily to the charges brought against him by Mahomed Ami, the brother, and Meer Cossim, the brother-in-law of Meer Jaffier. The former in a conversation held in private, at night, proposed to Eyre Coote " to Cut Off Ramnarain now If I'd support him." Eyre Coote, " Declining to Interfere till properly Authorized," then proceeded to mention, among other things, that the Nawab's refusal to see him was

" a Proof he was Ill Inclined to us-ward." He then " talked of the Council they had held the Night before and the Advice given him by the Jemedars &c. to attack & Cut us off that night, as a thing we were well Acquainted with." [1] He then desired that " this Discourse might not be repeated to Meer Cassim as he was a timourous man, & Buxey to Ramnarain." But Meer Cossim was one of the ablest and bravest men about the Court, and Mahomed Ami knew that he was his most formidable rival for the governorship if Ram Narain was deposed. The statement that Ram Narain's intention to murder Eyre Coote's detachment was a well-known fact was cleverly inserted. But there is no evidence for believing that it was true. On the afternoon of July 29 Eyre Coote paraded his troops preparatory to a march, when the sepoys to a man laid down their arms and refused to proceed.

" They enumerated the hardships they had undergone in this long march—The distance they now were from their wives and families to whom they were promised they should return in three months—But had been decoyed still on from one place to another & now did not know where we were about to lead them—Complained that stoppages had been made unjustly from their pay &c. By Argument & fair words I prevailed upon them at last to take up their arms again & they now seem contented." [2]

They marched with the artillery to Bankipore, where the Company had a garden about five miles from the city, the European infantry proceeding thither by water. On August 1 the detachment reached Moneah, an important town fifteen miles from Dinapore at the confluence of the river Soan with the Ganges. The troops with their ammunition crossed the Ganges and, proceeding up the river bank, arrived at Chupra and were lodged in the large saltpetre *godowns*, or storehouses, and the factory-house. Here Eyre

[1] Orme writes: " They likewise asserted that Ramnarain had consulted his confidents on the means of destroying the English detachment. This information determined the Major to proceed with all expedition to the frontiers of Oude."—Vol. I., p. 192.

[2] Letter from Major Eyre Coote to Colonel Clive, dated August 3, 1757, Chuppara.

Coote learned that Law had left that place seventeen days before, and was now at Benares.

The day after he reached Chupra Eyre Coote proposed to Clive that Ram Narain should be deprived of the governorship and Mahomed Ami appointed in his place:

"This is the Person, Sir, Shou'd you judge any such measures as I have pointed out Salutary & necessary to be Pursued, whom I would Recommend, Both on account of his being so nearly related, & so firmly Attached to the Nabob; & because he appears a man of Sense, Is known here, & Acquainted with the Province. Is upon the Spot. Could Assist with a Party In Executing a Sudden Stroke of this Nature, such as the present Exigency seems to Demand without raising In Ramnarian suspicions & so giving him Time to prepare & strengthen himself: which a Man sent from any other Place with a force Sufficient to Effect this, would Occasion—I think the force I have with me, sufficient to Effect this Business, Shoud you Judge It proper to be undertaken. How great Glory would Accrue to you Sir & advantage to our Country shou'd we succeed In Securing & firmly Settling this Province, & in raising such a Bulwark against the French ever hereafter entering In to this Country."

Before this letter reached him, Clive acting on Eyre Coote's previous communications, had written as follows:

MUXADABAD, 1*st August*, 1757.

SIR,—I this morning Receiv'd two letters of the 28th and 29th instants. I have since had a meeting on the subject of them with the Nabob, the result of which is that I desire that you will, on the receipt of this, return to Patna, and secure your self in the Company's factory there. Avoid giving Suspicion. Give for reason for your Return that the French had gone beyond your reach and into the territory of another Prince. Write to Suja Dowlat [1] that respect for him has prevented your pursuing your Enemies into his Country, and assure him in general terms of the friendship of the English, desiring he will give the French up. You are to consult with Meer Mahmud Ami Khan and Meer Cassum what measures are to be pursued with regard to Ramnarain, who is a Rascal. The Resolution here is that if it can be effectually done, he is to be demolished. If not, nothing is to be attempted till after the rains.

The Nabob desires you will acquaint his Brother-in-Law and Meer Cassum with the contents of this letter, not chusing to trust

[1] Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab of Oudh, at that time one of the most powerful kingdoms in India. Harapratad Sartre, a Professor of Sanscrit and a distinguished historian writes—Shujaudádaulá.

his sentiments in Persian lest the letter should miscarry. Of all things beware of treachery. I shall write to you more full (y) to morrow.

I am Sir
Your most Obedt. Servt.
ROBT. CLIVE

Don't come away from Patna till you hear further from me

To MAJOR EYRE COOTE

Eyre Coote received Clive's letter on August 12, and on the following day he wrote to Clive from Patna:

"Your letter of the 1st which ought to have arrived In 7 Days, reachd me only yesterday. Immediately Orders were given to get every thing ready to return here. We left Chupra This morning & all arrived here by Noon, the rearguard Boats excepted. The Bullocks, Lascars &c are to follow as soon as they can be ferried over but I dont expect them before three Days."

So ended Eyre Coote's expedition. It failed in its principal object, the capture of Law and his party, and the failure was due to Eyre Coote's ignorance at this time of Oriental diplomacy and Oriental warfare. Chupra was the chief centre of the trade in saltpetre, which was manufactured in great quantities in the neighbouring districts. Eyre Coote and Mr. Johnstone, the civil official who accompanied the expedition, made it their business, says Ives, "in their leisure hours to acquire a competent knowledge of this important branch of commerce." On August 17 Eyre Coote wrote the following letter to Clive, which throws a ray of light on the interest he took in this lucrative trade:

PATNA, *Aug*^{t} y^{e} 17, 1757.

SIR,—I return you many thanks for the consideration you are pleased to Express in regard to the extraordinary Expences I am at as Commanding Officer; from the knowledge I have of your Justice I never Imagined you desined I su'd be a loser on that Account. And I beg leave to Assure you that y^{e} giving you Satisfaction is more Essential to me than any Pecuniary View whatever.

Mr. Johnstone, who has been extreamly serviceable to me, has proposed a Scheme how I might Advantage myself a little by purchasing some of the commodities of this Place now greatly in Demand at Calcutta. However promising of Success this appears to me, yet as I have kept nothing a secret from you, so neither would I chuse to engage in this without your Knowledge and approbation. Which if I obtain The Sending me a Letter of Credit on the Seats here, will

ADMIRAL WATSON

From the mezzotint by E. Fisher, after
the painting by T. Hudson.

add to the many Favour's you have already Confer'd on me, & I will be Accountable to you on my arrival for what ever Sum I take up.

I Flatter my Self you will excuse the troble I now give you which I will not add to by attempting to discribe how much I am

Sir
Your most Obliged &
Most Obe^{t} Humble Serv^{t}
EYRE COOTE.

To COLO^{L} ROB^{T} CLIVE

After having recalled Eyre Coote from his fruitless pursuit of Law, Clive returned to Calcutta. On August 9 Watson wrote to him thus :

DEAR SIR,—I am glad to hear by M^{r} Pocock of your Health, & of your intention to continue at Calcutta a few days before you return to Muxadabad. He tells me you purpose favouring me with a Visit to morrow morning. I beg you'l not be at that trouble, as I fully intend making you one the moment my letters are finished for the Coast, & indeed I promised my self that pleasure this evening, but found my self not quite well. I am with great Esteem

Dear Sir
Your most Obed^{t} Hum^{ble} Servant
CH^{AS} WATSON

Tuesday evening
My Comp^{ts} to M^{rs}
Clive & M^{rs} Latham

A few days after, Watson was taken ill, and on the morning of the 16th the able and brave seaman died, universally regretted and beloved.

" The next day, his corpse was buried at *Calcutta*, attended to the grave, by Admiral Pocock, by all the captains, and by almost every officer and seaman of the squadron. Colonel Clive too, and as many gentlemen from the army as could possibly be spared, attended on this melancholy occasion. Many French gentlemen also (who through the fortune of war were his prisoners) and several thousands of Armenians and Indians followed him to his grave ; nor was there, I believe, an individual among them all, that did not shed a tear or give some other mark of unfeigned sorrow. In a word, no man ever lived more esteemed, or died more regretted than Admiral Watson. A voluntary universal mourning, displayed in some degree the deep sense which the fleet, army, and settlement, had of his merit."

The worst that could probably be said of Watson was that his temper was warm and that he was not free from the creeping jealousies of human nature. Clive had resented his obstruction in political affairs, but he fully recognised his good qualities and sincerely lamented his death. He wrote to Fort St. George:

"It is with the deepest concern I acquaint you of Admiral Watson's death. His zeal for the service of the Company and the extraordinary success it was covered with both at Geeriah and in this Expedition will make his memory particularly in India survive to latest ages."

In a letter to the Secret Committee at home he observed:

"Mr. Watson is no more. Every one here received the melancholy news of his death with much concern: his generosity, disinterestedness and zeal for the service, must for ever endear his memory to the Company. Unhappy fate! after having escaped all the risk of war, to be thus untimely cut off in the midst of his successes, crowned with glory and reputation."

Clive was now desirous of returning to England, as the strain of the campaign and the climate had told on his health. He wrote thus to Orme:

Dear Orme,—Probably the News overland will reach you before this, informing you of the Great Revolution effected in the Kingdom of Bengal; this Expedition has perfectly satisfied me as to Circumstances, I only wait to see every thing firmly settled before I steer my Course for old England; so far from being a hindrance to your aspiring thoughts I shall be of great Assistance by my Interest which you may depend upon.

I am possessd of Volumes of Materials for the Continuance of your History, in which will appear Fighting, tricks, chicanery, Intrigues, Politics and the Lord knows what; in short there will be a fine Field for you to display your Genius in; I shall certainly call upon the Coast in my way to England. I have many Particulars to explain to you relating to the said History which must be published—

I must now trouble you with a few Comm[s] concerning family Affairs—Inprimis, what you can provide must be the finest and best you get for Love or Money; 200 Shirts, the Wrist Bands workd some of the Ruffles workd with a Border, other in Squares, & the rest plain; Socks Neck Cloths & Handkerchiefs in proportion, 3 large of the finest Stockings, for the above take Walsh's Muster,

several Pieces Spotted Muslin & plain 2 Yards wide for Aprons, Book Muslin Cambricks or a few Pieces of the finest Dimity and a Compleat set of Table Linnen of Fort S^{t} David Diaper made for the Purpose—You will have 5 Months for these Matters, and tho' there may not be time to get a compleat set of Chintz Furniture for a room, Bed, Chairs &c it may follow. Mrs. Morse is a great Connoisseur in these Affairs excuse this trouble from a Friend & believe me

Dear Orme

Your aff^{te} Hble Ser^{t}

MOORSHEDABAD R. C.

1*st Aug^{t}* 1757

P.S.

Be pleased to collect my Concerns as fast as possible at Bombay. Mr. Spencer must have upwards of 30000 R^{s}. My Concern on the *Grampus* exceeds 9000 R^{s}, from which is to be deducted 2000 R^{s} borrowd of Col Lawrence at Respondentia, 1000 Hancock is concernd Stock & Block and Mr G Clive 500—inclosed you will receive a Letter to Hancock with orders to account with you & to send you up my Books which will explain to you all my Concerns; having a great Regard for Pybus, I direct that you let him have of my Money as fast as it comes in 10000 R^{s} taking his Interest Bond at 4 p Cent p Ann^{m} only the rest please to remit in Diamonds or any other way You think proper oblige the Davi Cotah to pay my Money at all Events.

The next day he wrote to Mr. Pigot:

"If I was to consult my own interests only, everything conspires to make me desirous of leaving this province. An unhealthy climate, a bad constitution, a genteel competence, a possible reverse of fortune, are strong motives to have done so, but a superior consideration to all these obliges me to continue some days longer."

On August 19 he wrote to his father informing him that he proposed sailing for England in January, "if I can but leave this country in peace." The letter reveals the tender and generous nature of the man:

HOND SIR,—My last was from Chandernagore, since which a Revolution has been effected (by means of the Military only) scarcely to be parallell'd in History. Finding after all our Efforts the prince of the Country was determ^{d} to ruin the English Company, & had calld in the French for that Purpose, we determind to ward off the Blow by beginning first; accordingly the Army, consisting of 1000 Europeans, 2000 Blacks & a fine Train of Artillery, began their March from Chandernagore the 13th June last & on the 23^{d} met the Nabob on the plains of Placy with an Army of 60000 Men. A Battle insued

in which he was entirely defeated with the Loss of his Camp, all his Baggage & 40 Pieces of Cannon: we pursued our Enemies for 6 Miles, but to little purpose for want of Horse: in the Evening a very great Man & near Relation of the Nabob joined us, with a Considerable Force, wth whom we had enterd into a private Treaty to set up in the Room of Surajah Doulet; He pursued his March to the Capital, on which the other took to Flight & was killd in the Pursuit. The other, Jaffeir Ally Cawn Bahad^{r}, was proclaimed Nabob in his Room to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the three Provinces. In Consideration of the great Services renderd Jaffeir Ally Cawn Bahader by the English he has agreed to give both publick & private to the Amount of three Million Sterling, one half of which is absolutely receed.—His Generosity has been such as will enable me to live in my native Country much beyond my most sanguine wishes; this you will observe by my Letter to my Attornies & the Papers inclosed therein. Out of that Sum about 36000£ belongs to Others; however what is there is not above one half of the Nabobs Gift, and I am in great hopes of getting the rest. I have ordered 2000£ each to my Sisters and shall take care of my Brothers in due time: I would advise the Lasses to marry as soon as possible for they have no time to lose; there is no Occasion for your following the Law any more; but more of this when I have the Pleasure of seeing you, which I hope will be in 12 or 14 Months.

Mrs. Clive takes her passage upon the *Tyger*, Cap^{t} Latham, & will sail from hence in 6 Weeks, taking Bombay in her way. I propose leaving this place in January & in all probability shall overtake the Squadron either at the Cape of Good Hope or S^{t} Helena; if I can but leave this country in peace, which I believe I shall, nothing shall detain me longer.

You may order the Rector to get everything Ready for the Reparation of old Stych. I shall bring his Brother home with £15000, as likewise Mrs Clives Brother.

If I can get into Parliament I shall be very glad, but no more struggles against the Ministry; I chuse to be with them.

Mrs Clive will write my Mother at Large. My best Respects and kindest Wishes attend her, not forgetting my Brothers & Sisters —& I am

Hond Sir
Your most dutiful & Obed Son
R. C.

Calcutta 19th *Aug^{t}* 1757

Richd Clive Esq^{r}

There is an Uncle of Mrs Clives, Mr James Maskelyne, in great Distress; please to apply to my Attorneys for 50£ to give him on my Account.

Not trusting his father's discretion, he wrote thus to Mr. Belchier:

I need not enter into a particular detail of the grand Revolution brought about in this Country by the Forces under my Command you will hear enough of this from all Hands, it is sufficient to say the Company & private persons are likely to be gainers 3 Millions Sterling by this Expedition, besides which the Company have had a Tract of Land given them which will produce near £150000 p Annum. —My General Letter to my Attornies will make known to you the large Remittances sent by means of the Dutch : it is possible I may send another such by the next Conveyance.

I wait for nothing but the Settlement of these Provinces to begin my voyage for old England which I hope will be some time in January. As this good News may set my Father upon exerting himself too much & upon paying too many visits to the Duke of N, Mr Fox, & other great Men ; I desire you will endeavor to moderate his Expectations, for altho' I intend getting into Parliament & have hopes of being taken some Notice of by his Majesty, yet you know the Merit of all Actions are greatly lessend by being too much boasted of. I know my Father's Disposition leads this way, which proceeds from his Affection for me.

Mr George Clive will accompany me, worth 18 or £20,000. I am sorry Mr Ironside was so precipitate in his Resolution of returning home : this Expedition would have been of great Service to him. Every Subaltern Officer will be near £3000 the richer for it. My Father will acquaint you with other Particulars ; Mrs Clive joins with me in Compliments to all Friends & I am

Dear Sir

Your most obed Hum. Servt

R. C.

Calcutta

21*st Augt* 1757

On August 21 Clive wrote to Mr. Mabbot as follows :

" I remember with pleasure your kind Expressions of Friendship & good Wishes that the Expedition to Bombay might enable me to return to England in Circumstances agreeable to my own desires & I have the pleasure to acquaint you the greatest Successes at Golcondah could not have equalld the present one for Advantages either to the Company or myself : indeed there is nothing but the Good of the Service can induce me to stay in this unhealthy Climate : I suffer much at this time of Year : however I must see everything settled & think there is the finest prospect of the new Nabobs being fully confirmed from all Parts by the Month of January at farthest. The more to forward his Confirmation, our united Forces are to take the Field & March to Patna : this Step will oblige the Evil-minded to court his favor & enable me to be at the Coast by the latter End of Jany at farthest with a considerable Reinforcement. I propose proceeding from thence to England, leaving my Superiors there to take up the Sword."

But much hard work had to be done, and many severe trials to be endured, before Clive could return to old England with his fortune. Early in September he set out again for Murshidabad with the intention of marching on Patna, but when he arrived there he found the aspect of affairs had altered. He had ordered Eyre Coote to seize Ram Narain and deprive him of his office. But Eyre Coote, when he reached Patna, deferred attacking his citadel. Meanwhile, Ram Narain "by some submission had pacified the Nabob," and at Meer Jaffier's request Eyre Coote and his force were ordered to return from Patna.

On September 13, having had "a very rapid and favourable passage," the detachment arrived at Murshidabad and were stationed at Cossimbazar. The rest of the troops were moved down to Chandernagore, where they were quartered on account of its being considered a more healthy situation than Calcutta. On September 12 Clive had written: "For myself, after having pressed the Nabob to be diligent in collecting his army, I am now about to return to Calcutta to make the necessary preparations for the ensuing campain." [1] Two days later, he departed from Murshidabad.

Clive had now to encounter the difficulties which present themselves to an administrator who has to construct a new political framework. But he had not the tools for the construction of that framework at hand. The factors and writers in Madras had, like Clive himself, been converted into soldiers and administrators by the rough business of war. But the Company's servants in Bengal were still mere traders, intent only on making bargains with a shrewd, timid race who had for centuries suffered under the oppression of native rulers. Clive found that he could not recruit from the younger men a competent staff of administrators, and in July he suggested to the Court of Directors that they should send out "capable young gentlemen for the civil service." The increase of his military force, the organisation of it, and, more than all, the

[1] To the Honble George Pigot and Gentlemen of the Select Committee of Fort St. George, Muxadavad, September 12, 1757.

erection of fortifications necessary to secure the safety of the settlement, were the first matters which occupied the attention of Clive. He enlisted more men from the races which had followed the Mohammedan adventurers into Bengal, and organised a second battalion, or regiment, of regular sepoys. He impressed on the Court of Directors the necessity of sending out a large body of recruits from the European troops and also the soul of an army—efficient officers. "Give me leave to recommend to your most serious consideration the sending out of some good and experienced officers, for be assured there are very few in your service at present: the best are killed or dead." He added:

"It is well worth the Directors while to give some extraordinary Encouragement to half a Dozen Officers of Experience & Rank to enter into their Service for a Term of Years, & it would be greatly to their Advantage if there forces were regimented, the Expences of a few more Field Officers are trifling in Comparison of the whole, & the good Effects very obvious to all Military men. Officers of Artillery well vers'd in the Laboratory Service are very much wanted." [1]

Clive obtained from the Company the right to repair and enlarge the fortifications at Calcutta, and he was insistent that the Select Committee should at once exercise the right. It was Clive who represented to the Court the necessity of dispatching Brohier from Madras to plan the new fortifications. A month after his arrival at Calcutta Brohier delivered to the Select Committee "a Letter purporting to erect a Citadel to the Southward of the old Dock as soon as possible, for the Defence of the River and the Company's Effects, and when that is compleated and executed to fortify the white Town with a Glacis Wells Ditch &c[a]." The letter was twice read and considered in Council and Brohier was "desired to survey the Ground and deliver a Plan of the Citadel he intends to build as soon as possible." Clive held that the necessity of hastening the works was imperative. On September 6 he wrote from Murshidabad a letter representing—

[1] Letter from Colonel Clive to Wm. Mabbot, Calcutta, August 21, 1757.

"the absolute necessity of commencing the fortifications while every circumstance is so favourable for it, and though you may not immediately be able to fix on what plan to go, yet all materials should be collected, and necessary preparations made to execute, without loss of time, whatever plan may be determined on."

On his return to Calcutta he promptly dealt with the matter. He did not approve of Brohier's plan, and the engineer abandoned his first proposal "and altered his choice of the spot for it (the Citadel) to Govindpore," [1] a small village with a *ganj* [2] or market on the banks of the river south of the settlement. Here Clive traced out the lines of a new fort—the Fort William of our time—which would shelter an army if the fortunes of the British demanded it. All round the thick tiger-jungle was cleared, and thus there arose the metropolis of a mighty empire.

In a letter written to Pigot the day before he left Murshidabad, Clive informed him that Meer Jaffier intended to take the field at the close of October and march towards Patna, in order to watch the movements of the Nawab of Oudh and to awe any of the chiefs of Behar who might be inclined to rebel. "It is absolutely necessary that we should accompany him with our whole force, both to strike a terror into foreign enemies and protect him from domestick treachery till his army is in good order and well appointed." When October came Clive found that his whole force had been almost consumed by pestilence. He wrote to the Secret Committee at home:

"Notwithstanding the Precautions, which I acquainted you in my last of the 22d August, were taken for preserving the Military in Health by quartering the greatest part at Cossimbuzar and Chandernagore, I am sorry to inform you that a terrible Mortality has reigned among them, and that many of the Survivors are so reduced by Illness as to be still incapable of Duty. We have likewise lost several Officers, and among the Rest Major Killpatrick, who acquired much deserved Reputation in his long Course of Service in India. The Squadron has sufferd no less than the Land Forces, indeed the Sick-

[1] Gobindpur.

[2] *Ganj*, formerly spelt *Gunge*. "Gunge, a market, principally for grain" —Verelat, "View of Bengal," Gloss.

ness has been general, not only with the English, but the French and Dutch and even the Natives.[1]

It was not until November 17 that Clive was able to embark the available troops in boats at Chandernagore and set forth for Murshidabad.

"Of the Detachment of King's Troops not above Twenty Private were fit for Duty," he wrote to the Secret Committee, "when we marched therefore at Mr. Pocock's pressing Instance, I left the whole behind to be embark'd on board the squadron: Of the Madrass Detachment there remained about 150 effective, Train included, so that the Troops now with me are for the greatest part composed of foreign Deserters and Topasses entertain'd on the Bengal Establishment. However, the present Face of Affairs seems fortunately to require but little Service from our Arms; Political Negotiations are likely to be more necessary." [2]

Clive now discovered that by placing Meer Jaffier on the throne he had created a situation of the greatest complexity. Meer Jaffier did not long enjoy in peace the position won by treachery. He was not qualified for the task of governing a kingdom. He had while young proved himself a brave and capable soldier, but a long course of bhang and sensual indulgence had rendered him incapable of decision or exertion. The Mohammedan grandees despised him on account of his weakness and because his power in the land had been established by English traders, and they could not forgive the defeat suffered on the fatal field of Plassey. Meer Jaffier could not forget that his fellow-conspirators were infidel Hindu bankers and a Hindu prime minister. Three aims guided his policy on attaining the throne: the first, to destroy the power of

[1] Letter to the Secret Committee from the Camp at Fettiahpoor, near Rajahmall, December 23, 1757.

[2] This hardly agrees with what Clive wrote to the Admiral on November 16: "Notwithstanding your offer of putting the King's detachment under my command on this expedition, I am sorry to inform you I cannot accept it without prejudicing the service; for all the officers (Captain Weller and Captain Coote excepted) had expressed by letter a disinclination to go upon it. Under these circumstances, I think it is better for the Company to be served by those who are willing, and may be attached to their service, than by persons who seem to have lost all remembrance of what they owe to them! For my own part, though I have before represented to you the many disadvantages I must labour under, during the present expedition, I shall endeavour to surmount them and be ready to render the Company all the service, which every well-wisher to his country is bound to do."—Broome, p. 189.

Rai Dulab[1] and his command of the State treasure; the second, to remove from their posts the Hindu governors or rajahs and replace them by his own kinsmen and dependants; the third, to lessen the power of the English and avoid fulfilling the stipulations of the treaty. Like the majority of Mohammedan princes, he had a strong desire to confiscate the property and treasure of the Hindu bankers. The policy he pursued towards the Hindu governors soon drove the Rajah of Purnia, the farmer of revenue at Midnapore, and Ram Narain of Patna into rebellion.

A few days before Clive left Chandernagore, Rajah Ram "the Midnapore Rebel" arrived there and delivered himself up to Clive on promise of the Nawab's pardon and British protection. "This first unlinked the Chain of the three rebellions," writes Clive, "the Chiefs of which had held a correspondence and were connected." On November 25 Clive arrived at Murshidabad, and the following is his account of the critical situation:

"The Prime Minister Roy Dulup Ram, who was one of the chief Instruments of the Nabob's Promotion, and had received in Return solemn Assurances of continuing his Duan, was suspected to be engrossing the power in his own Hands, and rather to have encouraged the three Rebellions than endeavour'd to suppress them: It is very certain that Roy Dulup had a powerful party in the State, and more than probable that he took Measures to strengthen it, according to the common Policy of all Duans: However this might be, the Nabob's Jealousy of him was carried to such a Height, that Surajah Dowla's Brother, a young Lad and almost an Idiot, was suddenly cut off, on a Surmize of Roy Dulup's intending to make him Nabob, and having sent his own Brother to Chandernagore to engage me in the Design, which is altogether groundless: Roy Dulup no sooner knew of this sudden Execution and the Motive for it, than he began to fear for his own Life, and open Hostilities might possibly have ensued, if we had not been a Check to each party. The Nabob, who at this Time was encamp'd in the neighbourhood of Muxadavad, accompanied by a Detachment of our Troops, excuses himself from any knowledge of the Transaction, and lays the whole Blame on his Son, who was left in the Government of the City; but many Circumstances induced us to believe otherwise. Roy Dulup on pretence of Sickness was still at Muxadavad having a large Body of his own Troops with

[1] Rai Durlabh.

him, as is usual in these Governments; but it is not improbable the chief Reason, for his remaining behind, was a View to his own Safety." [1]

Meeran, the son on whom Meer Jaffier cast the blame, was a young man of mettle and some considerable intelligence, and popular with the army on account of his hatred of the English, but an object of general detestation on account of his treachery, cruelty, and savage delight in assassinations. Clive, having assured Rai Dulab of his protection, and engaged his promise to follow as soon as possible, joined the Nawab in the vicinity of Rajmahal.

"At this place," says Scrafton, "the Colonel entertained the Soubah with a review of our little army, to which he came in great state, in a car drawn by two elephants, accompanied by two of his children, and several of his courtiers. The troops went though all their firings and evolutions with great briskness and regularity; and the Soubah seemed lost in amazement, at the quickness and uniformity of their motions; but nothing struck him so much as the quick firing of the field pieces, which, he said, exceeded every thing he could possibly have imagined; and he was altogether so well pleased with his entertainment, that he ordered 10,000 rupees to be distributed among them; for which the soldiers returned him their thanks, by three English huzzas."

Rai Dulab did not arrive, as he had promised, "at the earliest possible moment." The delay tried greatly Clive's patience. Affairs of state could not be decided in the absence of one who was both Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Clive had great matters which he wanted settled without further delay. Neither the Nawab nor his Finance Minister showed any inclination to liquidate the residue of the debt due to the Company by the treaty. A considerable portion of the first payment was still outstanding.

"We have already had too much Occasion to observe the Difficulties attending every Application for Money to the Durbar and foresee they will encrease as the Nabob grows stronger and we become less necessary; therefore I have determined not to leave this Ground till I procure sufficient Assignments on the Revenues of some Country near Calcutta, for the annual payment of the Money

[1] To the Honble. the Secret Committee, Camp at Fettiahpoor, near Rajahmall 23d December.

still due by Treaty ; together with proper Writings from the Zemindars of such Country for the regular Discharge of the same, which we may enforce if necessary."

On December 24 Rai Dulab arrived in camp with 10,000 of his troops.

"On the 30th the Nabob met Roydulub by Appointment in my Tent, and I had there the Satisfaction to make up their Differences and bring about an entire Reconciliation. I took Advantage of this Opportunity to have your Business settled in the compleatest Manner possible ; accordingly a Supply of Money was furnished for the extraordinary Expences of the Army, the Perwannah for the granted Lands passed in all its forms. Orders were procured for the immediate Discharge of the Arrears due for the first 6 Months of the Nabob's Debt ; and the yearly Revenues of Burdwaun, Nuddea, and Hughly &c[ta] formally assigned over for the Payment of the Rest."[1]

On January 2, 1758, Clive left Rajmahal and took the van of the army. "The Artillery and Roy Dulup's Forces follow'd the next Day, and the Nabob with the Rest of the Army the Day after, which Order of March was ever after preserved." The Nawab now requested Clive to adjust matters between him and Ram Narain, and promised him that if the Governor of Behar would submit himself, his life, and property he should be secure and his government continued to him. Clive wrote at once to Ram Narain, "engaging myself to be Security for the Nabob's Promise." On receipt of this letter Ram Narain set out from Patna, came to Clive's camp, and was introduced to the Nawab. During the march to Patna, owing to the distance between the forces, Clive was unable to have an interview with him. The irresolute Meer Jaffier, urged by perfidious counsels, exhibited many signs of coolness towards the English and expressed his intention of appointing his brother, Meer Cossim, Governor of Behar. When the forces reached Patna, Clive paid the Nawab a visit to congratulate him on his entry into the capital of the province, and the master spirit prevailed :

[1] To the Honble. the Secret Committee, Camp at Bockypoor, near Patna, 18th February, 1758.

" I represented to him the Impossibility of retracting the Promise he had made through me to Ram Narran, and intimated, as well as the Nicety of the Subject would bear, the Advantage of trusting the Government to a Person of his moderate and peaceable Disposition, rather than putting it into imprudent, and at the same Time dangerous Hands. My Discourse had Weight with him and Ram Narran was confirmed."

Clive had good reason for writing:

" All domestick Troubles are now happily ended and the Nabob seems so well fixed in his Government as to be able with a small Degree of Prudence to maintain himself quietly in it. For ourselves we have been so fortunate in the Course of these Transactions to attach to us the most considerable Persons in the Kingdom, and by the Constancy with which we successively supported Rajaram, Roy Dulup, and Ram Narran, to acquire the general Confidence and make our Friendship be sollicited on all Sides. On the whole we may pronounce that this Expedition, without Blood Shed, has been crowned with all the Advantages that could be expected or wished both to the Nabob and the Company."

He added the following important paragraph to the letter:

" Conformable to a Request from the Chief and Council of Patna I have applied to the Nabob for the exclusive priviledge of purchasing Saltpetre and am in Hopes of obtaining it. This will be attended with considerable Advantage to the Company and equal Distress to their Rivals in Trade, the Dutch."

On May 15 Clive returned to Murshidabad with his force. News had reached Calcutta of the indecisive engagement between the fleets of Monsieur d'Ache and Admiral Pocock on April 29 off St. David's Road. On May 22 Manningham wrote to Clive:

Dear Sir,—It is with great pleasure I have heard of your arrival at Muxadavad. I sincerely congratulate you thereon and hope this will salute you much amended in health. By this Express you will have a more perfect account of the French Squadron, their strength, & the success of Mr. Pocock in the late engagement, together with the Capitulation of Cuddalore and the prospect of St. David holding out some time.—I was in hopes we should soon have the pleasure of seeing you in Calcutta, but Mr. Drake informed me to-day, you proposed staying sometime at the City, in order to expedite the payment of the 2^{d} Sixth from the Nabob, however I flatter myself this will be soon effected, & give Us the satisfaction of seeing you

here. I need not intimate to you the critical state of the Companys affairs, nor how needful & advantageous your presence & counsel at this juncture—I own I heartily wish for your assistance; you will have weight, none else seem to have any—

I wish you every happiness & remain with great Esteem

D^r^ Sir

Your most Obliged & Obed Ser^t^

CALCUTTA C. MANNINGHAM

22*nd May* 1758

My Complim^ts^ to Mr. Walsh with You.

Two days after Clive left Murshidabad, taking with him the 1st and 2nd Battalion of sepoys and a portion of the artillery, leaving the remainder of the artillery and the three battalions of sepoys which he had just raised at Cossimbazar. The situation was critical. A French squadron was daily expected, and Clive discovered on reaching Calcutta that little had been done to provide for the defence of the settlement. He found that the construction works on the new fort had progressed very slowly. He lost no time in completing the outline of the enceinte, and, "at a time like this," he ordered that "no private workmen should be allowed, but all be employed for public service." At a meeting of the Select Committee, held on May 29:

"Colonel Clive suggested that in conformity with the opinion of Admiral Pocock regarding the necessity of having a Dock in Bengal, an immediate survey be made for a suitable spot and directions given for carrying out the work as quickly as possible; ordered that Captain Brohier, the Master, and Deputy Master Attendant, be asked their opinion as to whether a Dock can be expeditiously made, where, and at what cost."

Four days after,

"Captain Brohier, the Master, and Deputy Master Attendant attend and report that the best place for a Dock is at Surman's Gardens or thereabouts. Captain Brohier ordered to prepare the materials and commence work as soon as the season permits."

On June 17 the Select Committee passed the following resolutions:

"It being impossible to finish our fortifications in time to resist a French attack, which may take place at any time, Captains Brohier

and Wedderburn, and Messrs. McDonald, Smith and Scott, being sent for, recommend heavily armed fascine batteries at suitable places on the river, and sunken ships and chains higher up, to annoy an advancing fleet. Ordered that Captains Brohier and Wedderburn construct such batteries.

"Colonel Clive recommends the replacement of the buoys, and that the Dutch sloop be permitted to go to Balasore as our showing so much fear of the French is likely to have a bad effect on the Nawab's Darbar; the Master Attendant ordered to replace the buoys.

"Agreed to write to the Directoire and Council at Hugli of the above order and to say that we have no further objection to their sloops going to Balasore, provided they lie within ours as proposed by Mynheer Zuyland, when in Calcutta.

"The Company being in want of arms, the Secretary ordered to give notice that all persons possessing fire-arms, fowling-pieces, &c., must send them in, and those taken will be paid for at a fair valuation."

Clive was battling against negligence and abuses when the *Hardwicke*, East Indiaman, arrived bringing some recruits and a commission for the new modelling of the government. When the Court of Directors received in July, 1757, intelligence of the recapture of Calcutta, they determined to establish a new Council, and they named Clive at the head of it. "Should he have returned to his station on the coast of Coromandel, as there was reason to believe would be the case, then the other parties" named were to take their respective stations and rank. The following September the Court received Clive's letter, dated February 22, 1757, in which he stated that he hoped in a few days to take his passage for Madras, leaving all in tranquillity in Bengal.

The Court, on receipt of this definite announcement, revoked their commission of August 3, and on November 11, 1757, they framed a fresh commission, appointing only those of their servants members who they concluded were in Bengal. They had lost their settlement in that province owing to the misconduct of their Governor and Council—misconduct of long standing of which no knowledge had been conveyed to them. They now determined that the administration of their affairs in the settlement should be carried on upon its original

mercantile character. Their government was, as Burke said to the Lords, "a government of record." They had provided that all should be written—the proposition, the argument, the dissent. The use of this recorded system, if strictly observed, "did not consist only in the facility of discovering what the nature of their affairs and the character and capacity of their servants was, but it furnished the means of detecting misconduct, frequently of proving it too, and of producing the evidence of it judicially under their own hands." [1] This recorded system could be best observed by rotation in the chair. The Court decided that the new Council in Bengal was to consist of ten nominated members. The three senior members were therefore to take the chair, each successively, for four months. A Select Committee "to transact affairs with the Country Government and other matters which require secrecy" was appointed. It was "to consist of four persons only, except when Military Affairs are under consideration, and then five." [2] The four members "are to preside alternately in the said Committee for four months, in the same manner as before directed with respect to the Council." On June 20 this commission arrived at Calcutta, and great was the surprise and consternation at the omission of Clive's name in the new scheme of government. The Committee of Fort William realised that no government could be conducted with success without him, and on June 26 they wrote to Clive as follows:

Sir,—Our most serious Attention has been devoted to the Commands of our Honble Employers p^r^ *Hardwick* naming a Rotation of Governors for the future Management of their Affairs at this Settlement; And having duly weighed the Nature of this Regulation with all it's attending Consequences, a sincere Conviction of it's being in Our present Situation and Circumstances repugnant to the true Interest of Our Honble Masters and the wellfare of the Settlement in general, Obliges Us (tho with the utmost respect and deference) to believe, Had Our Employers been apprized of the present

[1] Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

[2] "William Watts Esq., Charles Manningham Esq., Richard Becher Esq., John Zephaniah Holwell Esq., Major James Killpatrick when Military Affairs are under consideration and then only."

State of their Affairs in this Kingdom, they would have placed the Presidentship in some one Person as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their Concerns, as well as preserving and maintaining the weight and Influence the late happy Revolution has given Us with the Subah of these Provinces, on which Influence at the present period the Interest and Wellfare of the Company depends in the highest degreee at this Settlement—The Difficulties we may be liable to by a Rotation in the executive part of Government, with it's Consequences, are sufficiently obvious in Our present State of Affairs; We will however mention only a few Points—The Treaty with the Nabob not perfected in all it's Branches; The Possession of the Lands incompleat; The Settlement in no posture of Defence; The French considerably reinforced with Military and a Fleet; Their designs with respect to Bengal hitherto unknown; and the Impossibility of impressing a proper Idea of this divided Power in the Minds of the Subah and others of this Kingdom, who have at all times been accustomed to the Government of a single Person. A little reflection will introduce many more, and clearly evince the Necessity of this Address.

The Gentlemen nominated Governours in the Honble Company's Commands p^{r} *Hardwick* have the highest Sense of Gratitude for the Honour conferred on them by Our Employers in their Appointment, But deem themselves in Duty bound at this Juncture of Affairs to wave all personal Honours and Advantages and declare it as their Sentiment, That a Rotation in the executive part of Government, for the foregoing reasons, would be extreamly prejudicial to the real Interest of the Company, in which Opinion We unanimously concurr, and judge it for the Wellfare of Our Honble Employers, and of the Settlement in general, to deviate in this Instance from the Commands of Our Honble Masters, and fix the Presidentship in a single Person till We hear further from Europe.

Your being named as Head of the General Committee (in the Letter of the 3^{d} Augsst last) Established at that time for conducting the Company's Affairs in Bengal; Your eminent Services, Abilities and Merit, together with Your superior Weight and Influence with the present Subah and His Officers, are Motives which have great force with Us on this Occasion, and all concurr in pointing out You as the Person best able to render our Honble Employers the necessary Service at this Juncture till they shall make their further Pleasure known by the Appointment of a President for their Affairs here—

These reasons urge Us to make You an Offer of being President of the Company's Affairs in Bengal till a Person is Appointed by the Honble Company; And We flatter Ourselves You will be induced to Accept of Our Offer from Your wonted Regard to the Interest of Our Honble Employers, and Zeal for the Wellfare of their Affairs, which We doubt not You are, as well as Ourselves, convinced, will

be much prejudiced by a Rotation in the Executive part of Government.

We wait Your Reply, and have the Honour to be
Sir
Your most Obedient
& most humble Servants

W^m^ Watts
C Manningham
Rich^d^ Becher
M: Collett
W: Mackett
Tho^s^ Boddam.

Fort William
the 26*th June*, 1758

Mill writes:

"Convinced that he alone had sufficient authority to over-awe the Nabob into the performance of his obligations, the council, including the four gentlemen who were appointed the governors, came to a resolution, highly expressive of their own disinterestedness and patriotism, but full of disregard and contempt for the judgment and authority of their superiors."

But there was no disregard and contempt for the judgment and authority of their superiors. They rightly judged that "had their employers been apprized of the present state of affairs in Bengal, they would have placed the presidentship in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns." Clive accepted the offer at once. He wrote "To the Hon^ble^ William Watts Esq. and the rest of the Gentlemen of Fort William" as follows:

Gentlemen,—I have received Your Letter of this day's date; and cannot sufficiently express the grateful sense I have of the favorable opinion You are pleased to entertain of me, the which has induced You to desire my acceptance of the Presidency, at this critical conjuncture.

Tho' I think I have cause to be dissatisfied with the Court of Directors, for laying me aside in their new form of government without any reason assigned, after having named me as Head of the General Committee in the letter of the 3^d^ August last, yet animated by the noble example of Public Spirit which You have set me, I have determined to wave all private considerations, where the General Good is concerned; and as there is no doubt, that the Government of a single Person, involved as we now are with the Country Powers, must have infinite advantages over that complicated form of Government established from home, I shall from that motive, tho' both my health and private concerns strongly require my returning to Europe,

accept the Offer You have done me the honor to make me, till such time as Our Employers have appointed a President in the usual form.

I cannot omit testifying my acknowledgements, Gentlemen, to You all in general, for the zeal You have discovered for the Service of our Masters upon this occasion, but in particular to You, who have been nominated to be in the rotation of Governors. You have made such a sacrifice, that few, if any, instances can be given of the like. You have of your own accord parted with the dignity of Government, and all the advantages thereunto annexed, because You apprehended that the Company's affairs could not be properly conducted under a Government so constituted.

Unequal as I am to the weighty task of directing this Presidency, especially in civil matters, to which I have never been able to give due attention, on account of my military avocations, I am now, Gentlemen, to beg the assistance of Your advice; and therefore hope You will persevere in the zeal You have hitherto so abundantly shewn, and that none of You, but more particularly Mr. Watts, who can render me considerable services from his thorough knowledge of the politicks of this Country, will entertain a thought of leaving me, till affairs are finally determined from home.

CALCUTTA,
26*th June*, 1758

Clive was still more explicit, and emphatically expressed his dissatisfaction to Mr. Pigot:

"The absurd sistem of Government orderd from home, & the fatal consequences likely to attend it in these parts, have induced me, at the particular Request of the Gentlemen in Council, to accept of the Management of Affairs for the present, much against my own Inclination I assure you, for notwithstanding a few flourishing paragraphs in the Companys General Letters, I have no reason to be satisfied with the Treatment of the Directors, in appointing me the 1st of the Committee for transacting their Affairs in Bengal in their Letter of August, & afterwards mak^{g} another Nomination without the least Apology or Reasons given for so doing. You will observe, they greatly disapprove the Independent Powers given me by you Gentlemen, tho all their Successes in Bengal be owing to that Act of Authority."

Clive forgot that he had led the Court to suppose that he had returned to Madras, and that they could not have heard of Plassey and its far-reaching results. But Clive's nomination had been due not merely to the state of affairs in Bengal. The day the *Hardwicke* arrived, a report reached the Committee that Fort St. David had surrendered. It was true.

CHAPTER II

1758–9: LALLY'S CAMPAIGN

On April 28, 1758, the great French armament, so long and anxiously expected, anchored off Cuddalore. Count de Lally, who had been appointed Commissary of the King for all French possessions in the East, and Commander-in-Chief, proceeded with two vessels to Pondicherry. Thomas Arthur, Comte de Lally, was the son of Sir Gerard O'Lally, one of the men who, after the capitulation of Limerick, made their choice on the banks of the Shannon to go over to France. He entered the French service as a captain in Lord Dillon's regiment, a regiment of the illustrious Irish Brigade, and he married a Frenchwoman connected with some of the noblest families of France.[1] As soon as Lally was born he was, according to the custom of the French Army at the time, enlisted in his father's company, and till he was fifteen he was trained by him in all the details of the profession dignified by danger. At the age of nineteen he was at the head of a company in the Irish Brigade. He was little more than twenty-five when he was appointed to the command of a regiment, and at the head of his corps he won distinction near the hamlet of Fontenoy. He was considered one of the best soldiers in France when, eleven years later, he was sent by the French Ministry to drive the English out of India. His character and his career have been coloured by his own memoirs, by French writers and English historians. That he was a soldier of

[1] "MEMOIRS of COUNT LALLY, from His embarking for the East Indies as Commander in Chief of the French Forces in that Country, to his being sent Prisoner of War to England, after the Surrender of Pondichery. Consisting of PIECES Written by Himself and Addressed to his JUDGES, in ANSWER to the Charges brought against him by the Attorney General of his MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY. Illustrated by a Map of his Military Operations in the East Indies."

ardent courage, thoroughly trained in the technical part of his profession, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. But, judging from the material we have, he had not the attributes which make for success in a commander, nor the reach of mind necessary for comprehending and directing great affairs. He was arrogant, excitable, and impulsive; his tones and gestures were vehement; his temper was hot, and when it blazed out his speech was virulent. But when we consider his unconquerable fidelity to his country, his jealous sense of honour, his hatred of corruption, his generosity, his courage and fortitude, his faults are shadows that flee in the light of his great qualities.

On the afternoon of April 28, 1758, Lally, accompanied by some of his chief officers, landed at Pondicherry. He was warned by the directors of the Company, before leaving France, of the imbecility, corruption, and cupidity that prevailed in their chief settlement; but great was his surprise and indignation when he found on arrival that the state of affairs was far worse than it had been described. The ignorance of the Governor and Council was colossal. They could not tell him the number of the English forces on the coast, and they could afford him no accurate information regarding the fortifications at Cuddalore and Fort St. David. They had for eight months been expecting a large force, and they had taken no measures for providing it with stores and transport. He complained that he was unable to find twenty-four hours' provision for the troops at Pondicherry, and there was no money in the Treasury to pay them.

Lally had sailed from the port of Brest with his own regiment of Irish, 1,000 strong, and 50 of the Royal Artillery. Before the fleet had been many days at sea, pestilence smote the men, and the malignant fever did its deadly work with appalling rapidity. More than 300 died before they reached Rio Janeiro. But though his troops were weakened by sickness and by a long voyage, though he had not sufficient provisions nor transport, Lally determined to march at once against Fort St. David. The determination to carry out

plans without an attention to circumstances was the main cause of all his misfortunes. On the very day of his landing he sent, in the evening, 1,000 Europeans and as many sepoys, under the command of Count d'Estaing, against Fort St. David. They marched without proper guides, and after wandering in the dark, arrived there soon after daylight, hungry and without provisions. The following day M. de Soupire came up with more troops, some heavy cannon, and a convoy of provisions. On May 1 Lally arrived at the Garden House, a mile and a half to the north-west of Fort St. David.[1]

Lally, before leaving the fleet, had arranged with his colleague, Admiral d'Ache, that he should land the troops the next day. But the following morning d'Ache saw the unexpected sight of the English squadron, and he at once weighed anchor and stood out to sea with the troops on board.

Admiral Pocock had arrived at Madras with his fleet from Bengal on March 24. A month after he was joined by Commodore Stevens with his squadron from England. Pocock, having put his fleet "in the best condition possible for sea," sailed on April 17 to intercept the French naval force which was daily expected.[2] At half-past nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th the British admiral saw seven ships in St. David's Road getting under sail, and two cruising in the offing. As they did not answer his signals, he concluded they were enemies, and made the signal for a general chase.[3] At noon the enemy, being joined by the two vessels in the offing, formed the line of battle ahead, and Pocock also made the signal to form his line. It was, however, three o'clock before all the English vessels came up and got into their station nearly within random shot of the enemy. Then Pocock in the *Yarmouth*, 64 guns, in the centre bore down upon the *Zodiac*, "on board of which ship M. d'Ache wore a cornette at the mizen-topmast head." As he approached, the French opened a steady fire, but Pocock "forbore to throw out the signal for engaging till he came

[1] *See* Chapter III., Vol. I. [2] Cambridge, p. 124.

[3] The signal "implies that every ship is to push with crowded sail and without regard to each other in pursuit of the enemy until countermanded by a different signal."—Orme, Vol. I., p. 298.

within half musket shot of the *Zodiac*." Then, perceiving that all the ships had not got near enough to the enemy, he made the signal for a closer engagement. It was immediately complied with by the *Elizabeth*, the *Tyger*, and the *Salisbury*, who were in the van. The *Yarmouth* and the three ships opened fire with round shot at the French hulls, and the enemy vigorously returned it, aiming chiefly at the rigging. "The English and French admirals, Pocock and D'Ache, as with the spirit of duel, kept close and directed their fire entirely against each other." [1] The action in the van and centre continued on both sides with great fury. The French shot flew high, but the British round shot at their hulls strewed their decks with killed or wounded. At half-past four P.M. Pocock observed that the rear of the French line had drawn up pretty close to their flagship. He signalled to the *Cumberland*, *Newcastle*, and *Weymouth*, the three rear ships, to engage closer.[2] "Soon after M. d'Ache broke the line," says Pocock, "and put before the wind; his second astern, who had kept on the *Yarmouth's* quarter most part of the action, then came up alongside, gave his fire and then bore away; and a few minutes after the enemy's van bore away also." [3] The British admiral at once hauled down the signal for the line and made the signal for a general chase. About five the French were joined by the two ships returning from Pondicherry, while the *Yarmouth*, *Elizabeth*, *Tyger*, and *Salisbury*, the ships in the van, had been so crippled that they could not keep up with the vessels that had not suffered in the rear. Darkness had begun to fall, and the chase had to be abandoned.

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 300.

[2] "Admiral Pocock observed, that Commodore Stevens, captain Kempenfelt, captain Latham, and captain Somerset, who were in the van, behaved as became gallant officers; and that captain Harrison's behavior, as well as all the officers and men belonging to the *Yarmouth*, gave him sensible satisfaction. Had the captains in the rear done their duty as well, the admiral would have had great pleasure in commending them: but their manner of acting in the engagement appeared so faulty to him; that, on his return to Madras, he ordered a court martial to assemble, and enquire into their conduct. In consequence of which, captain Vincent was sentenced to be dismissed from the command of the *Weymouth*; captain Legge to be cashiered from his Majesty service; and captain Brereton to lose one year's rank as a post-captain."—Grose, Vol. II., pp. 285–286.

[3] Admiral Pocock's Despatch.

On the morning of May 1 Pocock anchored three barques to the northward of Sadras. The previous night the French fleet had anchored at the roadstead of Alamparva, some fifteen miles south of him. Their losses had been severe—six hundred men killed and wounded. The British loss was only a little over a hundred men. At the roadstead the *Bien Aimé*, of 54 guns, owing to her damaged cable having parted, was driven into the surf and stranded without the possibility of recovery, but her crew, guns, and some of her stores were saved.

The day after the action Admiral Pocock wrote the following letters, one to the President and the other to the Select Committee:

To The Honble. George Pigot Esqr.

Dear Sir,—You will see by my letter to the Committee an account of the action yesterday afternoon, which I hope the enemy have felt pretty severely; but a fresh affair with them might prevent their designs on our Settlements taking place, and which I hope by sea and land we shall be able to effect, and therefore you may be assured I am very anxious to know the true state of affairs, that our joynt endeavours may frustrate all their attempts. The *Tyger* and *Salisbury* are much damaged, as well as this ship, in their yards and masts, and those two ships are but weakly mann'd; the *Cumberland* took on board the *Queenborough's* marines, and the *Tyger* was furnished with twenty seamen from her. I hope the two frigates are at Madrass.

Men is our chief want in the old ships, which, whether Europeans or Lascars, if they can be procur'd, pray let us be supply'd, in case you don't stand in need of them at this time.

I wonder the enemy chose to run so far to leeward before the engagement, as we must be run ten leagues to the northward of Pondicherry. I have only to add that I am, with proper esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

George Pocock.

Yarmouth off Sadrass
30*th April* 1758.

To The Honble. George Pigot Esqr., President,
and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee
at Fort St. George

Gentlemen,—This is to acquaint you that yesterday morning, running down the coast, I saw seven ships in St. David's Road getting under sail. Soon after I made the signal for knowing each other, which they not answering I concluded they were the enemy, upon which I made the signal for a general chase; but at noon, upon their

being join'd by two ships that were in the offing, and forming themselves into a line of battle ahead, I thought it necessary to do the same. A little before three in the afternoon I bore down upon the French commanding ship and made the signal to engage, which was continued till about five, when the French Commodore broke the line and bore away with his whole squadron, on which I made the general signal to chase, but observing they were joined by two ships to leeward, and night approaching, made the signal to keep to windward of them, expecting to be able to engage them this morning, but as they shew'd no lights in the night we have seen nothing of them since.

The loss of the squadron in general has not been very considerable. The *Yarmouth's* yards and masts much damaged, and between thirty and forty men killed and wounded, the number in the other ships as yet not known: no Commission Officer is kill'd except Lieutenant Hayter of the *Cumberland*. It did not appear that the French suffer'd much in their masts and yards, though I imagine they must in their hulls, as our fire was directed low. The repairs our ships will want in the rigging, masts and yards will prevent my getting to windward for two days, therefore shall continue off Sadrass in expectation of your immediate answer, that I may be satisfied what method will be most necessary to be taken for the Company's interest at this present juncture.

I take the Commanding Officer to be Monsr. D'Ache: The squadron consisted of nine two-deck ships and two frigates, but no doubt you can better inform me what force he had brought upon the coast.

This comes by Mr. Kirk, to whom I refer you for further particulars.

If the *Bridgwater* and *Triton* are in Fort St. George Road, I desire you will signify my directions in writing to the Commanding Officer to receive on board all the recover'd men from the hospital, and proceed immediately to windward to join me.[1]

I am, with perfect esteem,
Gentlemen,
Your most Obedient Humble Servant,
GEORGE POCOCK.

Yarmouth OFF SADRASS
30*th April* 1758.

Lally heard of the action, and that the French fleet had departed without landing troops, during his march to Fort St. David. But Lally was always most energetic when in difficulties. On his arrival at Fort St. David he at once dispatched a force under Count d'Estaing against Cuddalore. The defences of the town were in the same weak state as when

[1] Madras Select Committee Consultations.

attacked twelve years before by the French: [1] the garrison consisted of 30 European infantry, 25 European artillerymen, 400 sepoys, and some lascars. Fifty French prisoners had to be guarded in the fort. On May 4, 1758, Cuddalore surrendered, on the condition that the garrison should retire to Fort St. David with their arms and field ammunition, and that the French prisoners should be released with liberty to proceed to any of the neutral ports in the south, until the fate of Fort St. David should be decided.

Soon after the surrender Lally returned to Pondicherry in order to rouse an effete and corrupt government into making the necessary preparations for supplying transport when the troops landed. He had advanced them money from his own purse, but no preparations had been made. Lally wrote: "I sent you 100,000 francs of my money to aid in the necessary expenses. I have not found on my arrival resources of 100 pence in your purse or in that of your Council." In his anxiety to forward the troops to Fort St. David as soon as they were landed, Lally, it is said by the English historian, ordered the natives to be pressed and employed, without distinction of caste, in carrying burdens and performing whatever menial labour might be required. Lally, who had just landed and knew nothing of Oriental feeling or custom, might have been guilty of this fatal blunder. But the fault did not rest entirely with him. His own letters must be taken into account. A few days after the troops landed he wrote to De Leyrit, the Governor, begging him to obtain by rewards the assistance of the inhabitants of Pondicherry. In another letter he complains that the petty exactions and vexations of the civil and military authorities prevented the peasants from supplying provisions necessary for the army. On May 14 the troops were landed, and, owing to Lally's energy, sent off at once to Fort St. David. Lally returned to Cuddalore, and the old fort was again besieged by the French.

The troops under the command of Lally consisted of 1,600 Europeans and 600 natives of all arms. The garrison con-

[1] *See* Chapter III., Vol. I.

sisted of 619 Europeans, of whom 83 were pensioners, 250 sailors who had been recently landed, and about 1,600 sepoys and lascars. Major Tolier, the commander, had in many a stiff encounter proved himself to be a brave officer, but he was a bad tactician. He made the blunder of defending with his small garrison several batteries and redoubts outside the citadel. They were captured by the French on May 17. The following evening the enemy opened three trenches at a distance of less than 400 yards. By May 30 they had advanced others to within 200 yards from the glacis, and on the same day finished and opened three other batteries. From their support by other guns they kept up an incessant fire of shot and shell. The garrison were overmatched both in the number and calibre of guns, and they could not make efficient use of those they had, owing to the increasing want of powder. The scarcity of provisions had also begun to be severely felt, and "the enemy's bombs had likewise ruined the reservoirs and the only well of good water in the fort, and that in the ditch was too brackish to be drunk."

The chief hope now lay in the arrival of the English fleet. Pocock had sailed from Sadras, but the leaky state of the *Cumberland* retarded his progress, and it was not till the 28th that the French squadron was discovered at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. As soon as the English fleet was sighted, d'Ache, with the concurrence of the Governor and Council, resolved not to attack the enemy, but to keep his ships moored as close as possible to the shore that they might receive the assistance of the guns along the strand.[1] The French admiral did not care to risk an engagement, he said, on account of the large number of sick and wounded sailors who were on shore incapable of duty. When Lally was informed of this resolution he set out at once for Pondicherry, leaving orders for a detachment of 400 Europeans to follow him as fast as they could march. Early in the morning of the 30th he arrived there, and as Commissary of the King convened the Council. He offered the detachment he had brought, with

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 312.

the same number of sepoys and Lascars, for service on board the ships. The sailors had refused to put to sea until their wages had been paid. Lally found the funds to satisfy their demands. He "protested warmly against the disgrace of not meeting the English squadron in the open sea." The former resolution was rescinded by the Council. "Mr. Lally returned to the camp in the evening; and the next day Mr. D'Ache, with the eight principal ships, now manned with 3,300 men, weighed anchor, but, instead of bearing down on Mr. Pococke, who could not work up to him, kept the wind, plying for Fort St. David." When the garrison saw the French squadron working towards the road, they abandoned all idea of further resistance, and on June 2 they hung out a flag of truce. "At six in the evening, a company of French grenadiers were admitted into the fort, and the garrison marched with drums and colours to the foot of the glacis, where they grounded their arms, and surrendered themselves and their ensigns to the French line drawn up to receive them." Acting according to instructions from France, Lally ordered the fortifications to be immediately razed to the ground. During the day Lally had detached a force under d'Estaing against Devicotah, the garrison consisting only of 30 Europeans and 600 sepoys, and Devicotah was abandoned on his approach. On the evening of June 7, 1758, Lally at the head of his troops entered Pondicherry in triumph and proceeded to the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was sung. Illuminations and banquets brought to a close a day of rejoicing. Lally's triumph was, however, darkened by dismal foreboding. The condition of the French exchequer and the corruption of the Pondicherry government were by no means favourable to his plans.

Clive was vexed and sore distressed when he heard that Fort St. David, recently strongly fortified, had been taken by a small French force in the face of a British force and a British fleet. The gallant and victorious defence made under Stringer Lawrence against superior numbers was fresh in his memory. His anger broke out in his letter to Pigot:

"I cannot express to you my Resentment & Concern at the infamous Surrender of St. David. Had there been no powder at all left but for the Musketry, where was the Excuse for giving up the place till a Breach was made, the cover'd way stormed, & the Ditch filled? were our Enemies supplied with Wings to fly into the place? I am fully persuaded had Mons^r Lally been obliged to make approaches to the Top of the Glacis, the Climate wou'd have done him more Injury, than all the Powder & Ball in the East Indies. I could wish for the Honor & Welfare of our Nation; that Court Martial wou'd make the severest Examples of the Guilty in these cases. For the future, I would not leave it in the power of a Commanding Officer to forfeit his trust; but give him positive orders not to surrender any Fort, till a Breach were made in the Body of the place, and one Assault at least sustained."

Meer Jaffier considered that the opportunity had come for the destruction of Rai Dulab, whom the English protected. He found a dexterous instrument in Nuncomar, who had followed the armies to Patna. Rai Dulab had employed him on account of his being conversant with the details of revenue administration. When a difficulty arose as to the payments upon the "*tuncaws*," or assignments of rent, granted to the English, he proffered his services, and Clive accepted them. He at once began a vast system of corruption, oppression, and tyranny. He knew his evil practices might escape the notice of the English, but not that of a native and vigilant Finance Minister. He therefore, as ostensible agent of the Company, determined to aid the Nawab in the removal of Rai Dulab. He assured the Nawab and his son that the English would not interfere in the government if the money were regularly paid. He frightened the Seths by stating that if Rai Dulab withheld the revenue they would have to find the money. On July 24 he attained his object. Rai Bulub, Meeran's minister, was appointed Duvan and Rai Dulab was ordered to render up his accounts to his successor. Four days after Scrafton wrote to Clive: "Nuncomar is an intriguing rascal: the elevation of Raja Bullub by his agency greatly affects our influence here. Our enemies gain ground daily. Roy Dullub is gravely menaced." [1]

[1] Scrafton to Clive, Moraud Baug, July 28th.

In the meantime Clive had acted on Scrafton's suggestion, and invited the Nawab to visit Calcutta. Meer Jaffier, who accepted the invitation, left Murshidabad on August 6, and descended the Hugli with a multitude of followers in a splendid fleet of boats. He was received with every mark of honour and, after having been magnificently entertained for several days, returned evidently well pleased, says Clive, with his reception. On August 19 Clive, in a postscript to a letter to Pigot dated the 14th, wrote as follows :

" Since closing my last Letter the Nabob is arrived, & seems very well pleased with his Reception. A visit from the Subah of these provinces was never known or heard of before. I dont doubt his arrival here will have all the good Effects which are expected from it, and that we shall have peace & time on our Hands to distress our Enem[s] in other parts."

The visit of the Nawab did not have all the good effect expected. Clive's optimism was the natural result of experience in overcoming difficulties with insignificant resources. The view he took of the situation on the coast is, however, an illustration that he possessed the statesman's insight into the main factors of a complicated problem. He wrote on August 14 :

" I cannot quit the Coast without explaining to you my Sentiments of Affairs there. I do not find that M. Lally is able to take the Field with three thousand men. When the expected Forces arrive, and are joined with those at Madrass and Trichinopoly, we shall be 2500 strong, & I do not think victory depends so much upon equality of Numbers as Conduct & Resolution. From the several Accounts I have reced of Mons[r] Lally, I do not entertain that high Opinion of him, which he seems to have gained upon the Coast, and indeed his late Behaviour has confirmed me in this Opinion. Cap[t] Monchassin, who is here, reed a Letter from his Brother at Paris, informing him of the Manner on which these Troops were raised ; they were not draughted out of any of the regiments of France, but are composed of Foreigners & Deserters ; these Latter had a pardon promised them, on Condition of inlisting for the East Indies. Altho' Mons[r] Lally is a Colonel in the Irish Brigade, I do not find that any of that Corps have come out with him. The Capture of St. David's ought to add nothing to our Apprehensions of his succeeding in future enterprizes, for there was no Opportunity given of experiencing the Courage of his Troops, excepting the Attack of the Fascine Battery,

which I thinks makes rather in praise of our Forces than his, since an Officer & 50 Men could defend it against all the Attempts of the French from ten in the Evening till three the next Morning. If Colonel Lawrence could by any means draw the Enemy upon a spot of Ground he is well acquainted with, & attack them in the Manner he did at Bawoor, I should entertain great hopes of his Success.

" By this time the Superiority of our Force at Sea I take for granted is beyond Dispute, & of Consequence our Resources must be more than those of the French : this will be another inducement for us to hazard an Engagem[t] whenever we can do it with the least probability of Success ; a Victory on our Side must confine the French within the walls of Pondicherry, and when that happens, nothing can then save them from Destruction, but a superior Force at sea, of which I see little probability, notwithstanding the Report of a 3[d] Division.

" If it should be thought, that we are not strong enough for an Offensive War, other Measures I think may be persued, which will greatly distress, if not in the End ruin our Enemies. Their great want of Money is well known, & every method which can be thought of to increase their want of it, must greatly conduce to overset all their Offensive Schemes : cant a Body of Moratta or other Horse be taken into pay to burn ravage & Destroy the whole Country, in such manner as that no Revenue can be drawn from thence. Bengal is in itself an inexhaustible fund of Riches, & you may depend upon being supplied with Money & provisions in abundance : in the meantime what must become of the French, if they cannot raise money sufficient to pay their Forces ;—they must disband their Blacks, & the Whites will disband themselves.

" I find M. Lally is gone South ; if the King of Tanjore be not overawed into a Compliance with M[r] Lallys Demands, and give Assistance to Capt[n] Caillaud, I have such an Opinion of that Gentleman's Abilities, and the Goodness of his Garrison, that I sincerely believe the French will meet with some Disgrace before Trichinopoly."

Lally wrote to Bussy upon the taking of Fort St. David :

" It is the whole of British India which it now remains for us to attack. I do not conceal from you that, having taken Madras, it is my resolution to repair immediately, by land or by sea, to the banks of the Ganges, where your talents and experience will be of the greatest importance to me."[1]

Lally's first design, after his return to Pondicherry in triumph, was to attack at once Madras. But d'Ache, who had refused to co-operate with him, had gone upon a cruise to the south to intercept vessels arriving from England, and

[1] Mill, Vol. III., p. 164.

had taken with him the troops which Lally had put on board. These were important considerations, but it was the lack of money which chiefly prevented him from making an immediate attack. "Nothing saved Madras," Clive afterwards said, "from sharing the fate of Fort St. David at that time, but their want of money, which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place." The governor of Pondicherry and Father Lavour, the local chief of the Jesuits, who had a commanding influence in the councils of Pondicherry, suggested to Lally a method of obtaining funds. When the Rajah of Tanjore was besieged and hard pressed in 1750 by Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Saheb,[1] he executed a bond to Chanda Saheb for fifty-six lacs of rupees, which Chanda's son handed over to Dupleix.[2] It still remained in the possession of the Pondicherry Government, "and an incident in the capture of Fort St. David concurred to suggest the expediency of marching into the Tanjore country and demanding the money sword in hand."[3] Sahuji, ex-King of Tanjore, who had been supported by the English in 1749, had been found by the French at Fort St. David. He was escorted to Pondicherry and received with much ostentation and ceremony in order that the apprehension of being supplanted by his uncle, the ex-Rajah, might add to the other fears of the reigning sovereign.

Lally adopted the suggestion of the governor and the Jesuit, and on June 18 he set forth towards Tanjore at the head of 1,600 Europeans and a large number of disciplined sepoys. He marched without organised transport, without provisions, and without money. He was new to the country, and he was assured by Lavour and De Leyrit that supplies could be got on the journey. But the French had in their march from Fort St. David plundered and burnt the villages they passed through, and the sufferers took their revenge.[4] "The soldiers hungry, indignant, and scrambling for a pre-

[1] *See* Chapter VIII., Vol. I. [2] Wilks, Vol. I., p. 396.
[3] Orme, Vol. II., p. 318.
[4] "An Account of the War in India between the English and French," by Richard Cambridge, p. 132.

carious supply in the villages, marched one hundred miles to Karical, whither supplies and stores had been sent by sea, before they obtained a regular meal."

On arriving at Karikal Lally immediately sent forward a detachment to take possession of the town of Nagore, situated on a river about four miles north of the Dutch settlement of Negapatam. It carried on a very considerable commerce, and was reputed to be very rich. Lally farmed out its plunder and ransom to the captain of the French hussars for 200,000 rupees, stipulating that if the profit exceeded 100,000 rupees, a proportional addition was to be made to the public fund.[1] Lally was in want of ammunition, money and provisions, and he applied to the Dutch Government to supply his wants. They, "awed by his force" (according to Orme), supplied him with 20,000 lb. of gunpowder, and promised to assist him to obtain provisions, but they refused to lend him any money. Lally also applied to the Danish settlement of Tranquebar for assistance, and they sent him six small field-pieces, with 10,000 lb. weight of gunpowder.

On the 28th Lally left Nagore, and after having marched six miles halted at Trivellore,[2] where stands a large pagoda of great antiquity and sanctity. Orme states that Lally, "believing the report of those who meant only to please him, imagined the bramins to be very rich, and that the images they worshipped were of gold; in this persuasion, he ransacked and dug the houses, dragged the tanks, and took the idols out of the chapels, but no treasures were found; and the idols proved to be only of brass." At Trivellore Lally found that there was encamped within ten miles of him a large force under the Rajah's general, Monakji. Caillaud had materially improved its fighting capacity by sending to

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 320. Orme adds the following comment: "Hitherto the conduct of Mr. Lally had been free from the reproach of those pecuniary views, which he continually imputed without distinction to every one in the service of the French company; but this agreement gave them no slight pretence to retort peculation on himself, as going shares with Fischer in the profits of Nagore." There is ample proof of the corruption prevailing at Pondicherry, but there is no proof that Lally went shares with Fischer, and the charge is contrary to his whole character and career.

[2] Trivellore or Tiruvallur, a town in Chingleput district, Madras.

it from Trichinopoly a detachment of 500 trained British sepoys, 10 English gunners, and 300 "colleries."

As Lally advanced the Tanjorean force fell back slowly covered with clouds of cavalry, and the "colleries" attacked the rear of the French army, cut off their foraging parties and drove away great numbers of the cattle which the French had collected. On the morning of the 18th Lally arrived within six miles of Tanjore. The Rajah sent a message that he was willing to negotiate, and Captain Maudave and a Jesuit, St. Estevan, proceeded at once to Tanjore for that purpose. They demanded the full sum in the bond, fifty-six lacs of rupees with the interest. The Rajah offered three lacs. They immediately went back to camp, and returning next day, offered to accept ten lacs in money, provided the French were furnished with 600 bullocks and a supply of gunpowder. The Rajah refused to supply the bullocks for the true and proper reason that the supply or sale of beeves was contrary to his religion. Monakji refused to place before his sovereign the preposterous demand for a supply of gunpowder.

On the night of the 19th the forces moved to the suburbs and the bombardment of the city began. After a few days the Rajah renewed negotiations. They were protracted, and Lally, having some ground for suspecting that they were prolonged in order to obtain more assistance from Trichinopoly, lost his temper and denounced not only the utmost vengeance on the city, but he also threatened to carry the Rajah and his family slaves to Mauritius. The Hindu king, stung to the quick by the outrage, determined to die fighting on the ramparts sooner than yield to his insulting foe.

On August 2 the French having advanced from the suburbs, their batteries again opened fire on the city. Caillaud, who had not been certain that the Rajah would not make terms with the French, immediately sent to him a reinforcement of five hundred disciplined sepoys. Lally conducted the operations of the siege with vigour. On August 7 he effected a

breach, but twenty-four hours' bombardment was still requisite to make it practicable. His ammunition was, however, so scanty that he was driven to fire back upon the enemy their own cannon balls, and he had but a few days' provisions for his European soldiers and none for the sepoys and camp followers.

On August 8 Lally heard that the English squadron, after a second action with d'Ache, had appeared before Karikal and threatened a descent. All hope of relief was gone. Lally summoned a council of war. It was determined by a majority to raise the siege. The sick and wounded were at once sent away under the escort of 150 Europeans. At midnight, August 10, 1758, having spiked and dismounted the battering cannon, Lally's troops moved away from Tanjore. The next morning the Tanjorean cavalry and a large body of sepoys overtook them, cut off fifty of their number, and captured two field-pieces and two mortars. They had no food during their long march except a few coconuts gathered on the road. On August 12 a crowd of exhausted and famished soldiers again entered Trivellore, where they found supplies which had been sent from Karikal. After a halt of three days they were again in motion, and on August 18 they arrived at Karikal and found the English squadron at anchor off the mouth of the river.

After the action of April 29 the English squadron proceeded to Madras to refit. The necessary repairs having been made and supplies obtained, Pocock sailed again on July 25, but it was not till the morning of August 1 that the British admiral saw the French squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, setting sail off Tranquebar. In the evening they bore down on the British fleet to about two miles distance, "but they did not chuse to come nearer, and at six o'clock hauled their wind and made sail to the eastward." On the evening of the 2nd they saw four of the French ships in shore, and the next day the action was fought. On August 8 Captain James Barton, who arrived at Madras "in a sloop from Muscat, but last from Negapatam, brought the following

letter from Admiral Pocock giving an account of the late engagement : [1]

To The Honble. George Pigot Esqr.
and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee
at Fort St. George.

Gentlemen,—In the morning of the 29th of last month I dispatch'd a cattamaran with a letter. In the evening of the same day saw a large ship running down along shore with French Colours hoisted who I suppose at first took us for the French squadron, but on our chasing her she made for the shore, and ran aground between Porto Novo and St. David's, and not being able to get her off, set her on fire. She proved to be the *Restitution.*

On the 1st instant in the morning saw the French squadron getting under sail off Tranquebar, and in the evening they bore down upon us to about two miles distance, where we lay to for them in the line ahead, with the starboard tacks on board, but they did not chuse to come nearer, and at six o'clock hauled their wind and made sail to the eastward. The 2[d] in the evening we descried four of them in shore, and next morning at daybreak saw them all to windward, about three leagues off Negapatam ; they soon formed the line ahead, and began to bear down upon us with the land breeze, at the latter end of which their leading ship steer'd for our rear, by which means the sea breeze setting in about noon, we gain'd the weather gage and bore down upon them, and got near enough to begin the action about twenty minutes after one o'clock. In about ten minutes time Monsr. D'Ache set his foresail, and kept more away, the rest of his squadron did the same, and their line was soon broke. I made sail after them with the whole squadron, and was able to keep within gun shot of them at a running fight till about three o'clock, when finding they increased their distance by crowding all the sail in their power, made the signal for a general chase, and pursued them till near dark, when they got off by out sailing us, tho' I apprehend not without receiving considerable damage ; and not seeing them since conclude they are gone to Pondicherry. At eight o'clock that evening we anchored here, where we are repairing our damages, which are chiefly in our masts, yards and rigging, but hope will be ready for the sea to morrow morning. Our loss of men are thirty one kill'd, and one hundred and sixteen wounded. The Commodore has a musquet shot lodged in his shoulder, and Captain Martin wounded in the leg by a splinter ; the gunner of the *Cumberland* and boatswain of the *Newcastle* were kill'd in action ; the behaviour of the officers and men in general on this occasion was entirely to my satisfaction.

I wrote to Captain Caillaud yesterday, and mentioned every thing to him I thought necessary. Mr. Crooke informs me by letter dated the 1st instant that Monsr. Lally was then besieging Tranjour. In

[1] Madras Select Committee Consultations.

Mr. Bodle's letter which I received yesterday, he mentions nothing particular. The enemy have not any vessels at Karical.

I have the honor to be
Gentlemen
Your most Obedient Humble Servant
GEORGE POCOCK.

Yarmouth OFF KARICAL,
5th August 1758.

Captain Barton also brought from the admiral to Pigot the following:

" Remarks &c^a on board His Majesty's Ship *Yarmouth*,
August 3*d.* 1758.

At day light saw the French fleet on our weather quarter; and at 45 minutes after 5 A.M., made the signal for the line a head. At 6 Negapatam bore W.S.W. ½ W. distant about 3 leagues. 8 minutes past 7 made the signal for the *Tyger* and *Cumberland* to make more sail, the above signals were repeated by the *Elizabeth* and *Queenborough*. At 20 minutes past 7 we stood to the S.E., in a well formed line, the enemy's van at the same time bearing W.½ N. distant about 4 miles. At ½ past 8 the enemy's van began to edge down upon us. At 40 minutes past 8 made the *Tyger's* and *Elizabeth's* signals to change places in the line. At 45 minutes past 9 the *Tyger* made the *Salisbury's* signal to close the line. At 10 the enemy bore away as if they intended to run under the rear of our line, and 10 minutes after we, having made the signal for the leading ship to steer two points from the former course, bore away also, steering south per compass. At 25 minutes past 10 made the *Weymouth's* signal, and the *Weymouth* made the *Newcastle's* to close the line. From that time till 20 minutes past 11 little or no wind, and our line in some disorder, the boats being employed in towing their particular ships into their stations. At 20 minutes past 11 the sea breeze set in from the S.E., and brought the French to bear on our larboard and lee quarter. At ½ past 11 the enemy's van on our beam distant about 1½ miles. At 20 minutes past 12 P.M. made the leading ship's signal to steer 6 points from the former course, our ships then in a well formed close line. At 55 minutes past 12 made the rear ship's signal to close the line. At 1 took in our top gallant sails. At this time the enemy appear'd to be drawn up in a half moon line, their van and rear lying to windward of their center. At 20 minutes after 1, observing the French Admiral make the signal to engage, and their van ship fire on the *Elizabeth*, we immediately made the signal for engaging which was repeated by the *Elizabeth* and *Queenborough*, and obey'd by the whole squadron. 10 minutes after the French Admiral set his foresail and kept more away, the rest of their squadron did the same and their line was soon broke. The remainder of the action was a running fight. At 35

minutes past 1, our signal for the line was shot away, and another instantly hoisted ; 2 minutes after that our main topsail yard shott down on the cap, and the main top mast much damag'd at the same time ; 40 minutes past 1 the signal for battle was shot away and another hoisted directly. At 2 the enemy's leading ship in the van put before the wind, having cut away her mizen mast on account of its being afire. The French Admiral put before the wind 8 minutes after and was follow'd by all the ships of the enemy from the van to the center. At 25 minutes past 2 the enemy's rear put before the wind. At the same time we made the signal for a closer engagement in order for our ships to bear down as fast as possible after them. At 55 minutes past 2 the enemy wore and haul'd up a little on the larboard tacks, as we did at the same time. At 3 made the general signal to chase, when we made all the sail we could after them, the enemy being at too great a distance to fire at them and crowding with steering sails and every else from us, their boats all cut a drift and they standing about N.N.W., we employed in knotting and splicing the old, and reeving new rigging to enable us to make more sail. The less disabled ships about 3 miles a head and the enemy's rear 5 do. At 6 observing the enemy encreased their distance, we made the signal to leave off chase, hawling down the signal for battle at the same time, and after joining our ships to leeward, hawled close to the wind with the larboard tacks on board and at 8 made the signal and anchor'd in 9½ fathom water. Karricall, W. ½ N. Dist : about 3 or 4 Miles.

Letters from Mr. Whitehill, Resident at Sadras, and reports of many persons from Pondicherry, give room to hope that the loss of men on the side of the French in this action has been very considerable ; It is certain that the *Comte de Provence*, their Commodore's ship, was obliged to cut away her mizen mast, and that some others of their fleet had considerable damage." [1]

The reports proved true. The French had, says Grose, 251 men killed and 602 wounded, and among the latter were d'Ache and his captain.[2]

On his return to Pondicherry, d'Ache announced his inten-

[1] Grose writes: " However, the French boasted ' that the English squadron suffered greatly in this second action ; and that Count D'Ache would have had the whole advantage, had it not been for the accident that happened on board his ship and the *Comte de Provence*, by the combustibles which the English threw on board. That the *Comte de Provence* had all her sails and mizen-mast on fire, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the flames were extinguished : and that the same thing happened to the *Zodiaque*, with this difference, that the fire having gained the powder-room, she was on the point of blowing up, but was saved by the diligence of the officers.' " Grose, Vol. II., p. 288.

[2] " The killed and wounded in the French squadron amounted by their own accounts to 500." Cambridge says 540 ; Orme " few less than 500."

tion of proceeding to Mauritius so soon as he could get his ship fit for sea. Lally heard of this resolve during his retreat to Karikal, and at once sent Count d'Estaing to protest against this decision. But his remonstrance was in vain. On August 28 Lally himself with a small detachment arrived at Pondicherry. He at once summoned a council consisting of civil administrators and soldiers, and, backed by their opinion, he endeavoured, partly by persuasion and partly by menaces, to induce d'Ache either to fight the English squadron again or at least to defer his departure so long as it continued on the coast. But d'Ache, supported by the opinion of all his captains, refused to stay on the coast and meet the English squadron, on the ground that there was neither rigging nor supplies remaining in Pondicherry to justify the risk of another action. After considerable persuasion he consented to leave 500 of his sailors and marines to serve on shore, and on September 3, 1758, he sailed with all his ships for the Isle of France.[1]

On September 1 John Call, the able engineer of Fort St. George, sent to Clive the following account of the disasters which overtook Lally, which contains much fresh material for the historian:

Sir,—I shoud have done myself the Honor to write you immediately after the loss of St. David, & to have given you some account of that fatal stroke, but I was apprehensive, a subject in which I thought myself somewhat concern'd might have led me to say things on report to the prejudice of the Gentlemen there which might on a farther enquiry have prov'd false. You have eer this no doubt heard many & various particulars w^ch^ I am not yet qualified to confirm or contradict, notwithstanding I have seen & talk'd with Wynch who arriv'd here three Days ago. All I can gather from his papers & discourses inclines me to think the place was lost rather thro want of conduct & proper management than bravery or the means to defend it.

By Captain Barton I suppose you have heard of the last engagement between the Squadrons & the Situation of things in the Tanjiri Country. He did I believe carry a report too of a large convoy going to Lally's Camp being cut off, but it prov'd to be groundless. However an heavier stroke has fallen on the L^t^ General since that Time. These are the particulars. After some negotiations between the

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 336.

King & Mons^{r} Lally, matters seem'd to be adjusted & a promise & part payment of 4 or 5 Lack of Rup^{s} took place ; some Horse were also sent to the French Camp & hostages given by both partys for the performance of their engagements. How it happened is not altogether clear, but it seems Mons^{r} Lally acknowledges he infringed the Treaty & hostilities were soon renew'd to such a degree that two Batterys were erected against Tanjore, & many shot fired. The Tanjorines made a Sally or two & did some mischief,[1] but Caillaud having sent some Gunners, field pieces & 1000 Sepoys, measures were concerted with the horsemen sent to the French (whom Lally had dismounted at first & us'd ill) and a grand attempt made on their Camp the 9th in the afternoon. A Musquet accidentally going off in the French Camp alarm'd them & sav'd their Army, for at that juncture matters were just ready for execution. Tho' the conspirators thought they were discovered yet they endevor'd to prosecute their scheme, one purpos'd to begin with Lally & actually made a cut at him which he parried with his Arm the stroke was on the point of being renew'd when Lally ran under the belly of an horse, got a kick in the Guts & the fellow who attempted to demolish him was cut down. Murzasabeg at the head of the Tanjori Troops in one part, our Sepoys in another, & the Collargo Polly guns &^{ca} in another part fell on the French Camp. The Batterys were soon taken, the Guns spiked, & many men killed ; but 2000 Europeans were not to be broke by a rude multitude after they had join'd in a compact body. However M^{r} Lally was so satisfyed with the drubbing he had got that he march'd off that night or early in the morning to a place called Amapettah & from thence to Tervalore in the Road to Najapatam. He wou'd only carry a few rounds of amunition for each man & about four field pieces, so that had the Tanjoriens pursued the advantage he wou'd have been severely treated if not totally routed before he wou'd have reach'd Karikal. His battering Cannon, 1000 large Shot, some Mortars, Shells, Tents & other baggage was left a prize to the Tanjoriens. Fatal indeed has been Tanjore & Trichnapoly to the French ! When the news of this affair first reach'd Madrass it was positively reported, & continued to be believed for many Days that Lally himself was killed and most of his people cut off. Nothing cou'd have given us more pleasure and therefore the report I believe was the easier credited, however about the 22^{d} we heard Lally was not only alive but most of his men also. Wynck's arrival confirm'd this, for he both saw & convers'd with Lally, who own'd he did not find making War in this Country so easy as he imagin'd nor the Country troops so dispicable. Want of money (which is very great at Pondichery) and a prepossession that the King of Tanjore wou'd easily be brought to any Terms, engaged Lally to march with his Troops very ill supplyd in every respect. Had the Tanjoriens been lulled into a false security & our Squadron not obliged the Enemys to retire every thing necessary for besieging Trichnapoly might have been sent to Karikal by sea, and thence in

[1] 95 were killed in the Sally so that it was smart work.

safety when he wanted them. As it happened he cou'd get nothing without strong escorts, & often wanted Provisions. Had he even got to Trichnapoly I am dubious whether he cou'd have taken it. Caillaud had 4000 of the old Sepoys there & the Nallore with other good Jemidars at their head, above 400 Europ^{ns} Coffrys & Tropasses, besides Callarys &^{ca} He was moreover determin'd to stand an assault & had prepar'd the minds of his people for it. Lally's force was not above 2200 men & few or no black Troops, so that I think Trichnapoly wou'd have been saved. Before we had advice of Lally's misfortune Colonel Lawrence march'd from hence to Chinghaputt with near 700 Europeans (as fine fellows as ever I saw) 8 Guns & 1500 Sepoys which were to have been join'd by some of the Nabob's Horse. This motion was chiefly intended to alarm the French & oblige Soupise who was encamp'd near Waldour with 400 men to retire, or Lally to send back some men to support him. We were in hopes also of getting back some of our Men; for near 30 of those which had purposely enlisted, deserted from Mon^{r} Soupise's Camp & got hither; but the rest on this were return'd into Prison, so that we got no more of them. Lally did send 500 men to reinforce Soupise, but as they were other wise on their return it was not putting them to any Inconvenience. The Colonel finding no End cou'd be answered by keeping the field return'd yesterday to this place.

Whilst Lally was to the Southward he demanded money, Ammunition and Provision from the Dutch & Danes, the latter supplyed him with all, but the others were more wary for which Lally called them fishermen & Butter merchants. The King of Tanjore I hope will so far resent the behavior of the Danes as to make them respect their readiness to assist his Enemys.

I believe the French got nothing in the End by the Tanjore expedition tho' Lally says he got one Way or other 4½ Lack of Rupees which was all he demanded at first. They are still much distress'd & wou'd have been more so, had they not lately practis'd a piece of injustice to get a supply. It was thus. A Dutch Europe Ship from Batavia to this Coast passing by Pondichery was there siezed & her Cargoe (part of which was 100,000 Pag^{s} in gold) landed by way of restitution for the Dutch having permitted Admir^{l} Pocock to takes a small Vessell from the Islands in sight of Negapatam. The Dutch coud not prevent it & have protested against the Capture which is all they can do. However the French wanted money & any Grounds were sufficient for them to take it where they cou'd find it. All the notice Lally takes of their representations is that he will answer it in Europe. This Lally of whom you have no Doubt heard a great deal is of station Low, passionate in his Temper, & apparently haughty in his Carriage to his Officers, but Wynch says he believes him in reality a good natur'd man. He is L^{t} General, one of the Eight grand Croix of S^{t} Lewis, one of the six Inspector Generals of the French Armys, & has several Employs of Less importance, to w^{ch} he expects the addition of a Marshal's Baton, being a favorite of Madam Pompa-

dore. He now confesses I think that he has no longer any expectations of a third Division, but certainly a man of his Rank cou'd never have been originally intended to come to India with 2 Regimts. The number he and Soupise brought out stand thus

	Mility	Artilly
Soupise in Sept.	1100	200
Lally in April	1000	300
In India before	1200	
	3300	500
	500	
Total of the French force lately at Pondichery	3800	
Lost at Chittiput by sickness at St. David & Tanjore, by their confession	800	
Remain^{g} ..	3100 men	

out of which allowing sick & Garrisons for the several places they have, 2000 will be the most Lally can take into the field. Notwithstanding this he talks of coming here when join'd by Bussy who is marching this way with a great force if we believe report ; but I know Bussy cannot have above 400 Europeans, & will find business enough where he is ; & I think Lally is more of a Soldier than to attack this place without he has at least 5 to 1—

Many of those who wish well to the service flatter themselves that you will be here this Month & indeed I sincerely hope you will, for the old Colonel is incapable of bearing much fatigue & I fear not altogether satisfied. Perhaps your Presence might make things take another Turn, and change our System of Politicks for the better (if we have any). And it wou'd certainly add something to the many honors you have already acquir'd if you cou'd baffle the French L^{t} General & his Train of Maj^{r} Generals, Marshals de Camp, Colonels, &^{ca} It wou'd certainly be practicable had we as many men more as we have in this Garrison & as good Soldiers.

Maskelyne desires me to tell you that he wou'd write, but that an indisposition acquir'd by his short Campaign renders him incapable. He commanded the Troops under the Colonel, & in Garrison commands half the Sepoys & the 2^{d} Battalion. He is much esteem'd by all the Officers, but has been somewhat ill us'd by Caillaud's late promotion to a Majority. Tis not yet in publick orders so he takes no notice of it, but will quit as soon as he conveniently can, or on your arrival. Amphlett behaved in a distinguishing manner at S^{t} David for which Wynch has done him justice in a publick letter, & you may be assur'd I shall give him all opportunitys of pushing himself when he is releas'd.

He writes me from Pondichery that he wishes he never had seen the Loss of S.t David, & all the young Officers say the same. I imagine an enquiry will be made into the reasons of its surrender to the Enemy.

Orme, Palk, & Boddem are going home on the *Grantham*, with many other Passengers, so that it seems as if every one disliked their Situation here. I hope we shall soon see better times, & be able yet e'er the War is finished to change things on the side of the French. Shou'd our Reinforcements arrive before the Monsoon it wou'd be very opportune, but we fear they will go to Bombay or Bengall and not be here till March if at all. Tho' I think the Gentlem.n at the other Presidencys must see that while we have a force on this Coast superior or even equal to the French, they at the other Settlements can be in no Danger.

Please to present my Respects to M.rs Clive, & accept my sincere Wishes for your Health & Success whom am

Sir

Your very Devoted and

Obliged Humble Servant

FORT ST. GEORGE
1*st Sept.* 1758.

JOHN CALL.

COLONEL CLIVE.

The fruitless raid on Tanjore was the cause of grave transient misfortunes, but a second error led to a capital permanent calamity—the loss of the French power in the Deccan. A few days after his arrival Lally appointed the Marquis de Conflans to act as second in command of the French army in the Deccan. When he was on the point of proceeding against Tanjore with exalted hope, owing to the easy capture of Fort St. David, he wrote to Bussy (June 13) ordering him and Moracin the governor to join him with their troops, leaving the Marquis de Conflans with a brigade for the defence of the Ceded Districts and the general control of the Northern Sircars. As soon as the bulk of the corps had departed, Ananda Raz, a local chief, made a dash on Vizagapatam, took it, and hoisted the English flag. He wrote to Madras reporting what he had done and praying for active support, but the authorities were not in a position to afford it. In July he made similar proposals to the Council of Calcutta. Clive decided at once, against the unanimous opinion of the Council, to support him. He wrote to Pigot on August 19 telling him that he was

sending a force under the command of Colonel Forde "with the utmost expedition."

Francis Forde, whom Clive had selected to command the expeditionary force, was one of the many illustrious sons of Ireland who have fought to win for England her widespread dominions. He was appointed a captain in the Thirty-ninth Foot, Adlercron's regiment, on April 30, 1746, and nine years later he was with his regiment when it landed at Madras. On November 13, 1755, he obtained his majority, Eyre Coote being at the time a junior captain in the corps. Forde was stationed at Fort St. George when Clive returned from England to Madras, and then the strong and genuine friendship of these two great soldiers began. When Clive was sent to re-capture Calcutta, Forde was in officiating command of his regiment, and was too senior in rank to accompany the detachment sent with the expedition to Bengal. In April, 1757, Forde was given the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and sent on an expedition against Nellore, a fortified town situated on the coast near the river Penner. The force under his independent command was small. It consisted of 100 Europeans, a company of 56 "Caffres," and 300 sepoys with one 18-pounder, three 6-pounders, four cohorn mortars, and one howitzer. Forde attempted to take the town by assault and was repulsed. His frank account of the disaster throws light on the nature of the man. On May 9 he wrote to the Select Committee at Madras: "Last night I receiv'd the favour of the 30th Ult°, since which we have had a most damnable Brush, and suffer'd considerably as you will see by the inclosed List of killed & wounded." He then proceeds to relate how that morning at daybreak he made the necessary dispositions for an assault in the following order:

"The Caffreys with Ensign Elliot at their head, began the Attack and marched with great resolution to the foot of the Breach, our three Companies of Seapoys followed them very close until they came within sixty paces of the Breach and then lay down in the Ditch and could not be got to advance a step further, so that our Europeans were oblg'd to march over them to the Breach, where joining the Caffreys, they advanced to the top of it, but were so warmly received

by the People of the Fort with Pikes, Firelocks and Stones that it was impossible for them to get over. In this situation the fight was continued three quarters of an hour and then the Seapoys ran away as fast as they could towards our Battery. Seeing nothing could be done against so gallant a Defence, I thought it high time to retreat, which we did in very good order, and had not a Man hurt in the Retreat. No man has ever saw so brisk an Action while it lasted, and I must do the Officers and Men the Justice to say that they behaved with the most undaunted Resolution and Bravery."

On his return to Madras, Forde was ordered again to take the field with his detachment, and though the campaign afforded him no opportunity of taking part in any important battle, he obtained a useful insight into the conduct of Indian partisan warfare and showed that he had the attributes which make for success in war.

On the death of Major Kilpatrick the Select Committee, at the strong request of Clive, " apply'd to Lieut.-Colonel Forde to come to Bengal and take charge of our garrison as Major." Forde, in compliance with these requests, " took the first opportunity of proceeding from the coast for the Bay," and arrived at Calcutta January 21. On February 3 he wrote to the Select Committee:

" I have much at heart, no man more, the Interest of the Company and shall be extremely happy if I can be instrumental in promoting the publick Service in these parts ; however as I risque incurring His Majesty's displeasure by remaining here and must quit the Commission I at present hold in His Service, with all my future Prospects, which are pretty considerable, I cannot in justice to my Family embrace your polite Offer without something certain by way of Compensation for the risque I run. I flatter myself, Gentlemen, that you yourselves will think me very moderate in fixing the Compensation at five thousand Pounds in hand, exclusive of the Pay, Emoluments and Honors annexed to the Commission as your Major."

A majority of the Committee refused Forde's services on the terms he proposed, and Clive, on hearing what had taken place, offered with characteristic generosity to pay £2,500 from his private purse. The Select Committee accepted the offer, and granted the remaining £2,500 out of public funds. " Ordered the Accountants to draw up Bills for that sum (£5,000). And as it is customary for the Major to have a

seat on the Board—Agreed Lieut-Colonel Forde have a seat on the Board as Third of Council." It would seem from the following extract that Clive made a further generous offer to Forde:

"Accept at the same time my sincerest acknowledgments for the obliging offer you are pleased to make me, which you'll forgive me Sir if I beg leave to refuse, for as I have been satisfied in the Sum which I had determined to insist on for my remaining in India viz. £5000 and was resolve[d] to take no less, I think it would be equally unreasonable in me to receive more." [1]

Clive found in Forde a loyal and able colleague, ready to support him in the great measures of military reform which he contemplated. Clive was anxious to corporate the detachments from Madras and Bombay into the Bengal Battalion, and Forde wrote to him on June 27:

"I entirely agree with you in the necessity there is of incorporating the forces, and am very glad you propose doing it immediately. We have now about Seven hundred Europeans exclusive of Serjeants and Corporals. What do you think of adding 300 Topasses to them and making two Battalions? If you will give me Leave to pay my respects to you in person for two or three days, we may pick out Some orders proper to be given out as Standing orders, I have Some by me out of which we may extract what are proper for this Country; and we may talk over Some other matters relating to the Service."

Three months later, when Clive determined to send an expedition to the Northern Sircars, he had sound reasons for entrusting the command to Forde.

On September 15 Clive wrote to Pigot, informing him that "the 3 Europe Ships, 1 Country, & 2 Sloops" had dropped down the river, that the stores were on board and "the Troops will imbark in 2 or 3 Days, & will I hope be landed at Vizagapatam, or elsewhere, by the last of this Month." He added:

"You must not expect that these Forces will be orderd to proceed to your Presidency; all here are much alarmed at so large a Detachment leaving the place, & the Gentlemen of Council have made great Opposition to it; the Expedition whilst at a Distance did not seem to attract their Attention, but now the Troops are upon the point of imbarking, self preservation for the present seems to possess

[1] Cossimbazar, March 29th, 1858, Orme MSS., Vol. 292, p. 145.

every Breast, without any Regard for the future, or the Good of the Service in General: and you may be assurd if I was to propose the Troops proceeding to Madras, a Negative would be given by everyone but myself, & to tell you the Truth the Gentlemen here seem fully persuaded, that the Detachment would never be returned, should the exigency of Affairs require it. We shall see what may be effected by Jan^y & whether Bussy may not be kept at bay, & his resources of money &c^a cut off: if this can be effected, I think the Troops cannot be employed more for Your advantage, as it may prevent his forces from joining Mons^r Lally.

You may be persuaded that whilst I preside, the most vigorous measures shall be pursued, & I think the present Expedition a very strong proof of it: for I will not conceal from you, that we are in no condition to resist the French, should there be any possibility of their paying us a Visit, during the absence of our Troops. Our Effectives are not 280, & those the very scum of the Men.—Our Garrison is drain'd of Stores & Ammunition."

The tides were unpropitious. For ten days the ships lay at anchor at the mouth of the Hugli, unable to get away. On October 5 Forde wrote to Clive: "The Pilots at last think proper to put us in motion. Yesterday the *Ilchester* and *Thames* weighed, but came to an anchor again at a league and a half distance, & this day the *Hardwicke* and *Worcester* will follow." On October 9, 1758, he sent the following brief message to Clive: "We have just taken leave of our Pilot; very fine weather though the wind not fair." But when they stood out to sea the wind changed to fair, and they reached Vizagapatam, October 20, 1758.

As soon as the disembarkation was completed and arrangements for a forward movement made, Forde, leaving a small garrison there, joined Ananda Raz, who was encamped with his troops twenty miles to the westward. A long delay occurred owing to the difficulty of getting the promised carriage, supplies, and money from the Rajah. It was not until December 3 that the united forces of the English and the Rajah came in sight of the French troops strongly posted about forty miles from Rajahmundry,[1] on the high road leading to Vizagapatam.

[1] "Rajamundry is a barrier and key to the Vizagapatam countries; the French held it as their own property, and always kept a governor, and a small body of troops to garrison it.—Cambridge, p. 207.

The force under the command of Conflans consisted of a European battalion of 5,000 men, with more ordnance than they could manage properly, 6,000 sepoys, and 500 Native horse. The British force consisted of 470 Europeans, including artillery, and about 1,900 sepoys with six field-pieces.[1] The Rajah's contingent was a mere rabble.[2] He had, however, with him a party of forty Europeans, under an adventurer of the name of Bristol, with four field-pieces.

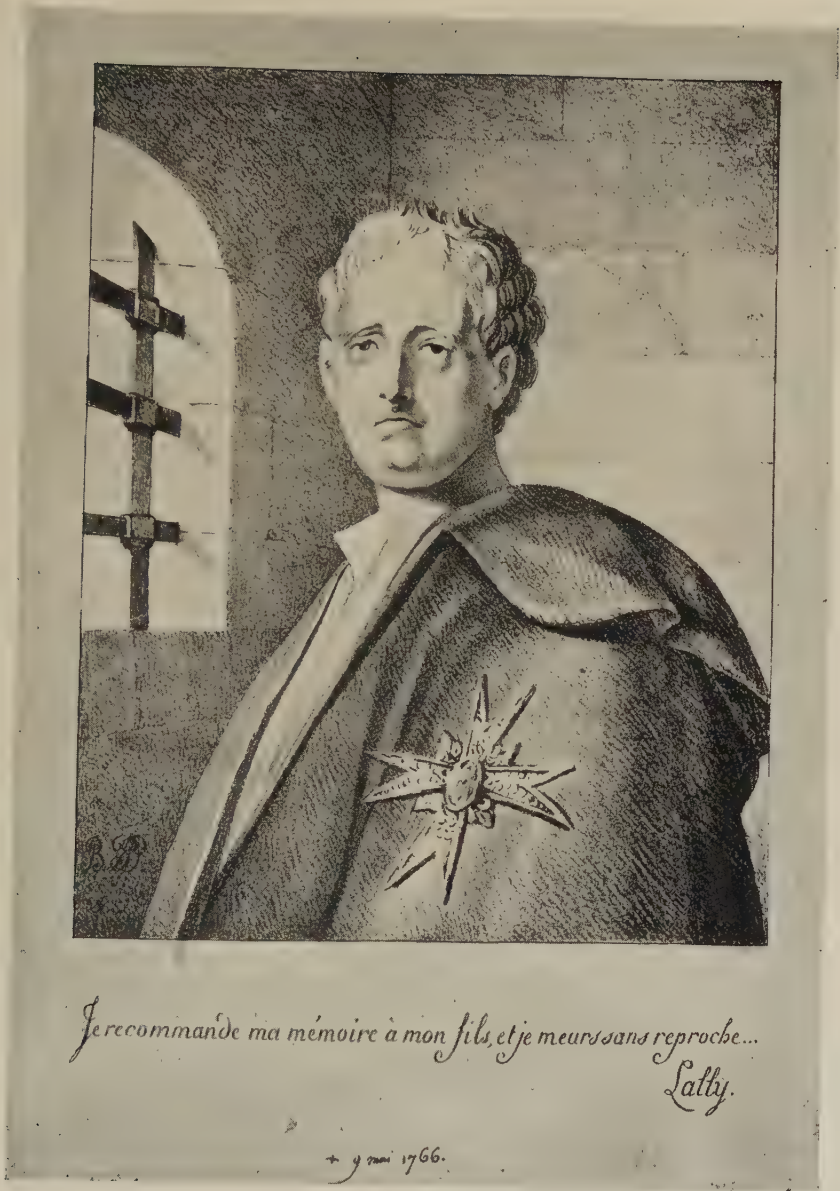
On the 6th Forde advanced and occupied a village on an eminence called Chambole, commanding the high road and about three miles from the enemy's camp. "The French seemed not inclined to quit their station, and the Colonel did not approve of attacking them to so great a disadvantage, therefore determined to either draw them from their present situation or march round them and get between their army and Rajamundry." [2] To accomplish this double movement, Forde determined to obtain possession of the hamlet of Condore nestling at the foot of a low range of hills three miles from Chambole. About six on the evening of the 6th, Forde waited on the Rajah and informed him of his intention; and late that night orders were issued for the army to march at half-past four, "no morning gun to fire and no beating of drums, but the greatest silence to be observed." [3] At the hour appointed, the British force struck their tents and advanced. The Rajah's army being not so alert was left behind.[4] At dawn they heard the sound of guns in the direction of their old camping ground, and soon messenger after messenger from the Rajah came galloping up imploring Forde to return to his assistance. "Our men were ordered to halt, and the

[1] "Between 30 and 40 pieces of cannon, light and heavy, besides several mortars."—Broome, p. 214. "The battering train and the howitzer had been left behind."—Stubbs, Vol. I., p. 8.

[2] "Colonel Forde's Expedition to Golconda."—Cambridge, p. 204 (Edition 1761).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* Orme writes: "The Raja approved and on the 9th at four in the morning the English troops were in motion." Grose states: "Colonel Forde attacked the French on the 7th." Broome writes: "On the 6th the English forces took possession of a village on an eminence called Chambole also commanding the high road."



COUNT DE LALLY

(*From a contemporary Engraving*)

Colonel returned and brought up the Rajah's army."[1] The whole force then pursued its march, and at eight o'clock arrived at Condore.

At the same time that Forde determined upon a turning movement, Conflans also resolved to attack the British camp. He had heard from a deserter that "the British soldiers were all raw and unexperienced in discipline, and the miscreant offered to show the French a point from whence the British force could be cannonaded with the greatest effect." About one o'clock the French troops were under arms, and a large party with six guns were sent under the guidance of the deserter to attack the British camp. Conflans, "observing our army had moved, and perceiving our intentions of stealing a march round him, ordered his troops immediately in line of march, and proceeded towards us, keeping between our army and his own camp. We had not halted above half an hour before we discovered the enemy's Sepoys, and presently after their whole line, about ten or twelve hundred yards distant on our left flank: In a few minutes after they closed, and moved down towards us in good order." [2]

The European battalion was in the centre with thirteen field-pieces divided on their flanks; while immediately to the left of the battalion were the 500 cavalry, and on either wing 3,000 sepoys supported by five or six heavy pieces of cannon.

About nine Forde arranged his force in battle array, the British battalion in the centre with the six field-pieces divided, three on each flank; to the right the 1st Battalion of Sepoys with half of the Madras Sepoys, to the left the 2nd Battalion of Sepoys with the remainder of the Madras Sepoys. He "ordered all the Indians with fire-arms to form on the right and left of our Sepoys on each wing, as the enemy's line extended much further than ours." [3] Bristol, with his small body of European deserters and four field-pieces, was

[1] Cambridge, p. 204 (Edition 1761).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[3] Orme, Vol. II., p. 378; Cambridge, pp. 204–205; Broome, p. 216.

placed with the field-pieces to the left of the European battalion.[1]

It was nearly ten o'clock when the enemy opened a well-directed and raking fire "from upwards of 30 pieces of cannon, some of them pretty large," and "the six short 6-Pounders and two 8-inch howitzers"[2] engaged with spirit the more numerous and powerful ordnance of the enemy.

"Had the Marquis de Conflans been endued with patience and been prudently satisfied with the advantages which this great superiority of artillery gave him, we must have sufferd exceedingly, for as they out flankd us very much the cannon plac'd in the extremities of their curved line very nearly fired up our flanks, and began to gall us considerably and to make our seapoys on the right wing very restless and uneasy.

But the French Commander had made his boasts that he wou'd make *his breakfast* of us, but that we shou'd not be the means of his *losing his dinner*. Whether this was the cause, or that our numbers were held in too great contempt I know not, but they very imprudently gave up the advantage which their artillery promisd them and advanced with hasty steps before their guns."

The enemy advanced quickly in front of their guns. Each company of sepoys carried a small colour. When the enemy showed a disposition to attack, Colonel Forde ordered the sepoys to furl these colours and lay them down in the rear. The 2nd Battalion of Bengal Sepoys were dressed in scarlet uniforms resembling those of the Europeans. Owing to "the extent of the enemy's line and the irregular approach of the armys towards each other caused by the fields of high corn &c.,[3] they became opposed to the French battalion in the center." The French, seeing them clothed in scarlet, led by English officers and with "Seapoys Colours furled," supposed that they were part of the European battalion which had

[1] "In 1841, when under some misapprehension, the Madras Government authorised the 1st Madras European Regiment (of which corps not a man was present in the action) to inscribe the word 'Condore' on its colours. The distinction has recently been placed on the colours of the Royal Munster Fusiliers, the only corps now existing representing the 1st Bengal Regiment entitled to wear it."—"Bengal Native Army," by Cardew, pp. 10–11.

[2] "Battle of Peddapore, or Chumbole, or Condore," by Major Martin Yorke—Orme MSS., Vol. 72, pp. 35–38. "The battering train and the howitzer had been left behind."—Stubbs, Vol. I., p. 8.

[3] Major Martin Yorke. Orme omits the important "&c."—Orme, Vol. II., pp. 378–9.

been divided on the flanks. It was a fatal error. The French attacked, and soon threw the sepoys into disorder; they retreated very precipitately, and the French pursued so briskly that they were also thrown into great disorder.[1] Forde attempted in vain to rally the sepoys, and discovering that it was the French battalion that were in pursuit, he ordered his Europeans "to face and march to the left" in order to cover the retreat of the sepoys.[2]

"The Europeans of both armies were at this period totally hidden from each other by a large field of tall Indian Corn, but upon our having march'd about 200 yards to the left we got clear of the corn and presented ourselves before the French battalion within little more than pistol shot. They were still hastily and irregularly pursuing our retreating seapoys. The moment we appear'd they suddenly stopt, endeavour'd to form and recover from the disorder which their hasty pursuit had thrown them into, but they were in too much confusion to make a long stand. They made a poor, irregular, scatter'd fire—Ours was regular, by Grand Divisions, and well directed; the fire of our 1st Grand Division brought down half the Grenadiers of their right (our fire began on the left) and very much increas'd their confusion. By the time our Grand Divisions had fired once round, the enemy went to the right about and retreated in the most mob like confusion."

The French on reaching their guns, which were thirteen in number, scattered about the plain in detail, rallied, and their guns again opened fire with grape shot. Many of the pursuing foe fell. Among them was the gallant Adnett, mortally wounded while leading the left division of the Europeans. His men swept on. As they neared the guns they formed line, and with a determined charge drove the enemy with the bayonet from them, and the French battalion dispersed in panic across the plain.

During this critical time the 1st Native Battalion, under their gallant Commander, Captain Knox, with three of the

[1] Major Martin Yorke. "The French drawing near, poured in their whole fury upon them, which was returned by our sepoys pretty firmly, though they were in some confusion, giving way at the same time as the enemy were advancing."—Cambridge, p. 205; Orme, Vol. II., p. 378.

[2] *Ibid.* Cambridge writes: "On seeing this, Colonel Forde ordered the European battalion to make a quarter wheel as quick as possible."—Cambridge, p. 205. In Broome there is a misprint. Instead of "obliqued to the left" read "obliqued to the right."—Broome, p. 217.

guns, bravely stood their ground against a large force in front and on their flank. But when the French sepoys saw their centre broken they retired. The stress of the battle was now over, but Forde determined to complete his success. As soon as he was joined by White of the sepoys, and had made his dispositions, he moved forward to attack the enemy. "But the ground being very bad, the guns drawn by bullocks were unavoidably left considerably in the rear." The French

"made one more attempt to form on the other side of a deep ravine which cover'd the front of their camp, but as fast as the battalions were brought up and form'd, we had the pleasure to perceive them file off again to their right and march off with precipitation. We took their whole camp standing, and all their cannon, ammunition, stores and baggage. A Battalion of Seapoys were detached in pursuit, who drove them that night near twenty miles from the field of battle, took some prisoners, and receiv'd many European deserters. In short, it is impossible for a victory to be more compleat."

So ended the battle of Condore, one of the most important fought by the British in India. It struck the first severe blow at the ascendancy of the French in the Deccan. On the morning of the victory Forde sent the following brief note to Mr. John Andrews, the Agent of the Factory at Vizagapatam:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that I engaged the French this morning at ten of the Clock, and that I have gained a Compleat Victory. I cannot inform you of the particulars exactly of the slain, as I pursued them 3 miles over the field of Battle to their Tents, which I am now in possession of. We have Six Officers prisoners, and fifty men, and at least twenty-five pieces of Cannon, and hope in 3 or 4 days more to give a better account of them, as I intend to pursue them with all Diligence to Rajahmundry or wherever they go, and if the Raja and his People had not behaved so dastardly as they did there would not have a Single Man escaped. Please to send Copys of the news to Madras and Bengal as I am so much fatigued that I cannot possible write any more at present. In a few days time I shall write more fully." [1]

Forde pursued them "with all diligence." The same evening he sent a battalion of sepoys to follow the enemy, the next

[1] "Selections from the Letters, Despatches and Other State Papers preserved in the Madras Secretariat (Clive Series)," edited by George W. Forrest, C.I.E.

morning the other battalion, and at daybreak on December 10 the two battalions reached Rajahmundry, having marched forty miles, and took possession of the mud fort in the centre of the town close to the river. On December 11 Forde arrived there with the remainder of his force, but he was unable to follow up his success by an immediate attack on Masulipatam. Five days after Forde's great victory Lally's troops appeared about daybreak upon Choultry Plain, and the long pending siege of Madras was imminent.

Lally declared that when d'Ache deserted him he abandoned his hopes of taking Madras. But he never lost sight of his most cherished project. The expedition to Tanjore had increased the financial pressure, and its failure had roused his indignation. He determined to replenish his treasury by another expedition and to recover the laurels which his own precipitate folly had lost. The £30,000 left by d'Ache would enable him to initiate a fresh campaign. He determined upon a bold enterprise: he would gain possession of Arcot, which was governed by one of the principal officers of Mohammed Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, our old protégé. The capital of the Carnatic would, he considered, supply his victorious army with provisions, and its rich treasury would furnish him with ample funds. Early in September he again took the field. He dispatched four columns, commanded by his best officers, to take possession of the small forts which, if left, might impede the direct advance of the centre column, commanded by himself, on Wandewash, thirty miles south-east of Arcot. At Wandewash, the country having been cleared, the whole force was to concentrate and advance on Arcot.

The operation, well conceived, was conducted with dispatch and vigour. Fort after fort fell. On October 4, 1758, Lally, "on the terms of a pretended capitulation, amid the thunder of cannon, made his entrance into Arcot." He proclaimed Rajah Saheb, the eldest son of Chanda Saheb, Nawab of the Carnatic, and confided to him the government of the province. The short campaign had been a brilliant

success. But the success was more brilliant than substantial. Lally counted on obtaining some of the riches of Arcot. He found an empty treasury. In his eagerness to advance on Arcot, the acquisition of which would be of great political importance, he made a great strategical error: he neglected to capture the fort of Chingleput, about thirty-six miles south-west of Madras. Situated on the Palar River, it commanded the road to Pondicherry and covered the country on which Madras depended for its supplies. Lally declared that the importance of capturing this outpost did not escape his attention, but he considered that the small fort, so slenderly garrisoned, could easily be taken after the capture of Arcot by his victorious troops, supplied with the two great sinews of war, provisions and money. But the hope was raised only to be disappointed. When he ordered his troops to march on Chingleput, they refused unless they received their arrears of pay. But there was no money. Menaces and prayers were of no avail. The officers subscribed two thousand rupees and took them to the mutineers. They required ten thousand. Lally applied to the government of Pondicherry, but their resources were completely exhausted. Conflans wrote to Dupleix on September 16: "Since you left affairs are dreadful. There are factions, but there is no money." [1]

Ten days after, Conflans, in a long and diffuse letter to his mother, states: "Lally is too headstrong to take advice. He tries to act precisely as though he were in Europe, and the results are disastrous. It would be as well for Bussy to keep close to Lally and assist him by his counsels." [2] But the infallible pride of Lally was proof against any suggestion. He had been joined by Bussy about the time he entered Arcot. Between the two men, wide as the poles asunder in temper and character, friction was bound to arise. They were at their best when leading a charge. Bussy was a soldier skilled in statecraft; Lally had a supreme contempt for the sinister art of diplomacy. Bussy had established his power in the

[1] Conflans to Dupleix, Rajimindry, Sept. 16th, Powis MSS.
[2] Conflans to his mother, Rajimindry, Sept. 16th, *loc. cit.*

Deccan by his skill and courage as a commander, and he had consolidated it by his tact and agreeableness of nature. He considered that the ascendancy of the French at the Court of the Deccan was of supreme importance, and he realised the political and strategic importance of the Northern Sircars. Lally held that the foundation of French dominion in India by diplomacy was a vain dream. The French could establish no firm hold on the country until the English were driven out of it, and he indicated his policy to Bussy in five words: "No more English in India." To carry out this policy Chingleput and Madras must first be captured. Pigot wrote to Clive: "Lally says he does not care about possessions in the north if only he can strike home here." [1]

In order to strike home, Lally asked Bussy to advance him the money to pay the mutinous soldiers. Bussy refused. He was of opinion that a Nawab of the Carnatic should not be appointed without reference to the Subahdar of the Deccan, and the easiest method for recruiting an exhausted treasury was to get Salabat Jang to pay for the restoration of the Subahdar to titular power over the Carnatic. Bussy by argument and financial pressure strove to get Lally to permit him to return to Hyderabad. The honour and power of France was not the sole feeling in his mind. In the Deccan he was a powerful prince and not a subordinate.

Lally, enraged at his plans being thwarted by his lieutenant, grew more impatient and more suspicious of his sincerity. He came to regard him as his personal foe and a traitor to his country. He refused to allow him to return to Hyderabad. He abandoned the operations on Chingleput, cantoned his troops, and returned to Pondicherry. Bussy, the proud master of the Deccan, enraged at the taunts and insults freely and openly levelled at him by Lally, and finding that all his earnest entreaties and efforts were in vain, abandoned himself to his resentment and did not render to Lally the assistance which loyalty to France demanded. Bussy in his anger sacrificed the work of his life and the greatness and nobility of

[1] Pigot to Clive, Fort St. George, October 21st, 1758.

his nation. The officers who accompanied Lally had soon lost all confidence in him, and were anxious that Bussy should supersede him. Conflans wrote: "Recall Lally, put Moracin there instead and hearten Bussy with a Brigadier's brevet." [1] Six of the officers who had accompanied Lally signed a requisition that Bussy might supersede them.[2] Lally complied with their request.

Distrusted by his own officers, hated by the corrupt civil functionaries, Lally was in a critical position. The Pondicherry Council told him that they had not a sou to pay the army, nor sufficient provisions to supply the daily need of the town. Lally, the bravest and most sanguine of men, determined to march upon Madras. He said the French soldier on the defensive was half conquered. He would obtain provisions as he advanced, and the populace of the Black Town would fill his empty coffers. He called a council consisting of civil and military members, and the expedition against Madras was discussed. Leyrit, the Governor and a member of the Council, opposed it on the ground that there was neither money nor provisions. Count d'Estaing, one of the bravest of the brave, exclaimed: "Better to die storming the glacis of Madras than of hunger behind the walls of Pondicherry." His brave words carried the day. It was decided to march against Madras, and events supported the decision. A ship arrived with some unexpected treasure from the Mauritius, and Moracin, who had been left in charge of Bussy's force, brought not only 250 Europeans and 500 sepoys, but 100,000 rupees. Lally advanced 140,000 livres

[1] Mill writes: "A high testimony from another quarter was yielded to the merits of Bussy. His rank as an officer was only that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Besides a Major-General, six Colonels had arrived with the army of Lally. The six Colonels, yielding to the nobler impulses of the human mind, signed a requisition that Bussy might supersede them." "Their names," says Mr. Orme, "highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descent: d'Estaign, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Breteuil, Verdiere, and Crillon."

[2] Lally asserts that to secure the good offices of some of these noblemen Bussy lent or gave or offered to them the following sums: to Count d'Estaing, 100,000 crowns; to the Chevalier de Crillon, 2,000 louis d'or. Crillon, however, refused them. Lally adds that Bussy offered him 460,000 livres to be sent back to the Dakhan, and stated that he was ready to advance 240,000 livres for the service of the Company, provided Lally would be his security. Lally states that he declined both offers.—Malleson, p. 535 note.

of his own money, d'Estaing and the other officers 34,000 rupees.[1]

Furnished with a small amount of treasure, Lally again took the field with 2,000 European infantry, 300 cavalry, and 5,000 sepoys. He hoped to reach Madras about November 12 and escape the monsoon, which was late that year. But when the main body of his force, marching from their cantonments at Arcot, reached Conjeveram, the monsoon burst, the rain came down in torrents, the country became a vast swamp, and for fifteen days further advance was impossible. On December 4 Lally joined a column which was sent up the bank of the Palar to cut off the supply of provisions for Madras and capture Chingleput. But he found that the garrison had been strengthened, and a substantial force had taken the field to succour it in case of a siege.

The Government of Madras had early realised that Lally was determined to lay siege to Fort St. George, and had, accordingly, made active preparations for defence. Provisions of all kinds were brought from the surrounding country and stored. Stringer Lawrence, with a sense of sound strategy, abandoned all the less important forts and concentrated his forces on two vital points—Fort St. George and its barrier post, Chingleput. He recalled Captain Caillaud with all the 180 Europeans in garrison at Trichinopoly. Marching through the Tanjore country, they embarked at Nagapatam, and landed at Madras on September 25, 1758. Eleven days before, a small reinforcement had arrived from England. Maskelyne wrote to Clive from Fort St. George, September 18: "The *Pitt* has arrived with 2 Field Officers and 120 men. The *Grafton* and *Sunderland* are expected shortly." The *Pitt* was a Company's man-of-war, which had convoyed a transport fleet of six ships with 1,000 troops on board, which the great statesman whose name it bore had dispatched on March 6, 1758.

William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, had an hereditary interest in Fort St. George, his grandfather, the daring interloper,

[1] "Lally-Tollendal," by Tibulle Hamont, p. 145.

having governed the settlement for many years: he was in close touch with Indian affairs, and he realised that Lally's mission was a grave menace to our power in India.

The two vessels expected were His Majesty's ships sent to reinforce Pocock's squadron. The two field officers were Major Brereton and Colonel Draper. William Draper was the Colonel Commandant of the regiment (79th Foot) which had been recruited in Scotland the previous year. He was sent to Eton at an early age, whence he proceeded to King's College, and he has a title to be on the list of illustrious men who have been Fellows of this royal foundation. He abandoned the calm and ease of academic life for the profession of arms, and proved himself a daring and gallant soldier; but an active military career did not deaden his literary interests, and in his controversy with the author of the Letters of Junius he showed considerable ability as a writer.[1]

The *Grafton* and the *Sunderland* did not arrive "shortly." September passed, and there was no sign of the anxiously expected reinforcement. October came, and Pocock, fearing to be caught by the monsoon gales, weighed anchor and sailed away to calmer waters. At the earnest request of Pigot and Lawrence he left one hundred of the marines. He arrived at Bombay on December 10, where he found the six transports and two vessels of war with 600 of Draper's regiment

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel William Draper (1721–1787), afterwards Lieutenant-General. After the siege of Madras he was offered the command of the Madras Army in succession to Lawrence, but he declined on account of ill-health and returned to England. At the end of June, 1762, he again arrived at Madras as Brigadier-General and commanded the military force against the Spanish settlement of Manila. On October 6th, 1762, Manila was taken by assault and was ransomed for 1,000,000 in bills on Madrid which was never paid. Draper's "Answer to the Spanish Arguments refusing Payment of the Manila Ransom from Pillage and Destruction" was a lucid and forcible reply to the objections raised by the Spanish Court. It first brought him to notice as a writer of considerable ability. In 1766 he was appointed to command the 16th Foot, and the next year he was created a K.C.B. In 1769 he engaged in his famous literary contest with the author of the Junius papers in defence of his friend the Marquis of Granby. The charge brought against him by Junius that he had betrayed and sold his "companions at arms for a riband and a regiment" was a base slander. He became Lieutenant-General in 1777, and he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca in 1779. On the surrender of that island (1782) he preferred charges of misconduct against Lieutenant-General Murray, who had suspended him. He was tried by a general court-martial in 1783 and reprimanded. He died at Bath on the 8th of January, 1787.

on board. On November 3, when Lally had begun to put his troops in motion, a convoy of supplies set out for Chingleput, and 1,200 Europeans and 1,800 sepoys were sent from Madras to cover them. Half the force under Draper advanced to within ten miles of Chingleput, and the other half under Stringer Lawrence halted at St. Thomas's Mount. On December 11 Draper heard of the approach of the whole of the French army and fell back and joined Lawrence at the Mount. On the afternoon of the 9th a large body of the enemy appeared in sight, and Lawrence, fearing that his communications with Madras might be interrupted, marched back with his whole force to the Choultry Plain. Lally halted at St. Thomé. On December 12

"The enemy having marched this morning from the Mount, and appeared about daybreak upon Choultry Plain, our army, after about two hours' cannonading, returned into garrison, and the enemy encamped upon the spot where our troops were last night, about a mile and a half to the southward of the Fort. At the same time their advanced guards were seen at the Garden House and Chebauk,[1] the village just on the other side of the Bar."

Stringer Lawrence had retired from Choultry Plain because he could hardly hope, owing to the disparity in numbers, to gain a success in the field, and a defeat meant the loss of Madras. After the outposts had been called in, the whole force available for the defence of Fort St. George amounted only to 1,758 Europeans and 2,220 sepoys. The French force was estimated at 3,000 European horse and foot, 500 native cavalry, and 3,000 sepoys.[2]

On the return of Stringer Lawrence with his force to the fort a consultation was held, and the Council came to the following decision:

"The Board being of opinion that the necessary orders for conducting the defence cannot, without great inconvenience and delay, be debated on and issued by the whole Council, it is therefore unanimously agreed to leave the conduct of the defence to the Governor,

[1] Chepauk.

[2] "Vestiges of Old Madras," by Colonel Henry H. D. Love, R.E., Vol. II., p. 539. Orme states that the French European cavalry, excellently mounted and disciplined, were 300 strong, "the greatest number which had hitherto appeared together in India."

who, with Colonel Lawrence, is desired to take the assistance of the other Field-officers and the Engineer as often as may be requisite, and immediately to issue the necessary orders."

The result was satisfactory. Pigot did not interfere with the military, but he "greatly contributed to their success by his prudence, resolution, and generosity in the management of the stores and provisions, frequently visiting the works and liberally rewarding all those who signalized themselves." [1]

At daybreak, December 14, the French entered the Black Town without opposition, the British picquets retiring to the Fort. The regiment of Lally took up their quarters near the beach of the sea; the regiment of Lorrain, with the battalion of India, on the rising ground to the west; but both behind buildings which screened them from the fire of the ramparts.[2] Lally selected his quarters in Mr. Pigot's country house, which the British Governor had left furnished for his convenience. His soldiers proceeded to pillage the town, and, finding a large quantity of liquor, got drunk.[3] Spies and deserters reported the state of the French troops. Draper suggested a sally, and offered to lead. The offer was accepted. At eleven [4] Draper, with 600 chosen men and two field-pieces, marched out of the western gate "full of spirits," and crossing a bridge over the old channel of the river, reached the entrance, a long street of Indian houses crossed by several others. He detached a party of 100 men under Major Brereton to protect his right flank from Lally's brigade, and himself advanced up the street. "The English drummers, most of them being black boys, began to beat the grenadiers' march as soon as they entered the street: on which the whole line from one end to the other set up their huzza." The French, being warned, drew up the Lorrain and Indian regiments in a long, wide street facing

[1] Grose, Vol. II., p. 318.
[2] Orme, Vol. II., p. 390. [3] Orme MSS.
[4] Orme, Vol. II., p. 390. Colonel Love says 8 a.m., but does not give his authority. Lally's biographer writes: "*Sur son ordre, le major Draper, avec l'élite de la garrison et trois pièces de canon, se précipite, à onze heures du soir, par la porte de l'ouest.*"—"Lally-Tollendal," par Tibulle Hamont, p. 148.

FORT ST. GEORGE

(*From an Engraving dated* 1754)

the head of the cross street up which they expected the British to advance. They planted four guns at the entrance of the cross street, and they posted two or three platoons about fifty yards lower down at the opening of a short lane which led into a parallel street. Misled as to the direction of the sound, the French made a grave miscalculation. Draper advanced up the parallel thoroughfare, and the enemy discovered their error only when the grenadiers had reached almost the end of the street and appeared before the opposite opening in the lane. The French platoon opened fire, and with execution—for the distance was point blank. The grenadiers, returning the volley, marched onwards, followed by the main body until the last two platoons reached the entrance of the lane, when they were halted to prevent the enemy from breaking through it. Draper, on emerging from the cross street into the wide thoroughfare, found himself on the flank of the Lorrain regiment with its four guns and the Indian battalion beyond them. The grenadiers at once faced and fired, and two of the field-pieces coming up opened with grape-shot. The French, taken by surprise,[1] fell into confusion and abandoned their guns. Draper ordered his men to cease firing and to charge with bayonets fixed.

"He even set the example and advanced; but was followed only by four brave fellows, two of whom were killed, and the other two dangerously wounded. The colonel had several balls through his coat, but was not wounded. He advanced, and exchanged a pistol with the French officer of artillery, who immediately surrendered; but the colonel had the mortification to find that he had no men to carry off the guns."

The French soldiers, encouraged by the ceasing of the English fire, streamed out of the houses in which they had sought shelter and opened a hot fire of musketry and artillery. A stiff contest ensued. For twenty minutes it lasted. Then Draper, finding that the French were being reinforced by the Indian battalion, and fearing that his retreat would be cut

[1] "The French mistook the English troops for Lally's brigade, and suffered them to form on their left flank unmolested; nor were they apprized of their mistake, until convinced by the fire of the field-pieces, loaded with grape-shot." Grose, Vol. II., p. 198.

off, abandoned the guns and retired "down the street to the eastward from the square."[1] The French followed them closely. Eighty of the Company's grenadiers, "the prime men of the garrison, were taken prisoners." The street was passed, the open ground gained, and Draper turned to the right in order to come in touch with Brereton. About three hundred yards from the fort was a bridge which spanned a narrow branch of the river running along the glacis. Once the bridge was crossed, Draper and his men would be safe under the protection of the guns of the citadel. The Chevalier de Crillon, who commanded Lally's regiment, had early in the day realised the importance of holding the bridge and so cutting off the British retreat. He pushed his regiment towards it, and had come almost within two hundred yards of it when he met Bussy. Bussy stopped him and said it was a dangerous movement, as the enemy, whom he had seen not far off, had moved with their artillery.[2] It is stated by Crillon that Bussy then told him in a tone of command that he must take with him two of the four field-pieces attached to the brigade.

"Je n'ai pas besoin de canons, reprend Crillon ; il ne me faut que la baionnette, et, se tournant vers ses hommes : 'Allons, soldats, en avant, suivez-moi !'—'Soldats, restez !' s'écrie Bussy, qui se retourne vers Crillon et insiste pour qu'on emmène du canon. Crillon, sentant qu'on perd le temps, s'élance ; mais les soldats n'osent désobéir à Bussy, et, quoique frémissants de fureur, restent immobiles. Cependant, Crillon marchait seul vers le pont. Un des officiers crie aux soldats : 'Laisserez-vous massacrer votre colonel !' Le capitaine Kennedy, le major Allen, cinquante volontaires sortent des rangs et rejoignent Crillon."[3]

Meanwhile Draper, joined by Brereton, had reached the bridge, and after a desultory rearguard fight the retiring force crossed it and entered the town by the north ravelin. The British loss was 9 officers and upwards of 200 men. The French casualties numbered 30 officers and 220 men. Among the

[1] Grose, p. 299.

[2] Hamont, p. 150. Hamont's account is founded on Lally's statement supported by Crillon's evidence at his trial.—Memoire, &c., p. 103. Bussy stated that he had no command as he was on this occasion a volunteer, that he received the thanks of the Governor of Pondicherry.

[3] "Lally-Tollendal," by Tibulle Hamont, p. 150.

killed was Saubinet, who "possessed all the qualities of an able general"; and Count d'Estaing, "an active partizan," was thrown from his horse when approaching at full gallop some English troops he had mistaken for his own men, and was made a prisoner.

The next day the French began the task of besieging Madras. "The houses of the Black Town," wrote the Select Committee of Fort St. George, "not being yet demolish'd to the Intended Distance, gave them an Opportunity of opening Ground and erecting their first Battery within 450 Yards of the Foot of the Glacis. We gave what Interruption we could to their Works by the Fire from the Fort." [1] Sorties were frequently made, for "besides the good effects such sallys may have on our sepoys, by enduring them to danger; the enemy's people are harassed and fatigued, and their works retarded." [2] December 20 was always kept as a day of public rejoicing and banquets in old Madras. It brought with it a remembrance of England, as it was the day appointed by the Charter for the Mayor and Sheriff annually elected to enter on their respective offices. The Council "assembled as usual," and the Mayor and Sheriff being introduced, "the oaths of allegiance and office" were administered to them by the President. The Journal records:

"It having been always usual upon this occasion to salute the new Mayor with nine guns, nine guns were shotted upon the Royal Bastion and pointed at the enemy's quarters and works, and discharged in honour of the new Mayor, and it is hoped with good effect on the enemy."

On December 22 a ship which Lally expected from Masulipatam arrived with artillery and stores.

"The next day the 23[d] Dec[r] the *Thames*, Captain Wedderburn, loaded with provisions for the Garrison, came without Opposition

[1] Letter from the Select Committee of Fort St. George to the Honble Robert Clive, Esq., and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 26th January, 1759.

[2] "Journal of Transactions during the Siege of Fort St. George." The Journal was found by me among the ancient archives in the Record Office at Madras and Selections from it were printed in a "Memorandum on the Madras Records," submitted by me to the Government of India in 1893.—G. W. F.

into the Road, the French Ship neither in the Condition nor the Intention to mind any thing except the landing her stores, but upon her getting under Sail the 24th to run nearer in to her Station, the *Thames* weighed also and disappeared. Fortunately we had laid in a sufficient Stock of Provisions." [1]

The *Thames* brought the good news of Forde's victory at Condore. The Council decided that

"As it was reasonable to think that public demonstrations of joy upon occasion of victory gained by Colonel Ford might have a good effect by raising the spirits of our people and producing the contrary on the enemy, it was therefore resolved to put the whole garrison under arms and to march them into the covered way, which it was supposed would alarm the enemy and bring them to their front post, and so expose them the more to our shot, and then to fire twenty-one guns into different parts of their quarters and works, and give three running fires from the covered way of the whole garrison, which was executed accordingly."

Just at this time Pigot received the important information that heavy reinforcements had arrived at Chingleput. Their leader, Yusuf Khan, the brilliant fighting partisan, Clive's and Lawrence's "old friend," was engaged in the administration of the Madura and Tinnevelly provinces when he was requested by the Madras Government to join Preston with all the troops under his command, and to enlist as many as he could on the road. He arrived at Chingleput with 1,500 sepoys and 2,000 horse.

On December 27 Pigot wrote to Preston:

"Usoff Cawn and you are to march so as to begin the Attack at Day break, and to carry with you the whole Force excepting such a number of Horse as you judge may be spared . . . As your Attack on St. Thome must be made on the South and West Sides, A large Detachment of Seapoys, with some Europeans and a few Horse, from hence shall attack at the same time on the North Side, and another shall take post at the Garden House. Our People, both Horse and Foot, Europeans and Seapoys, shall wear a green Branch in their Hat or Turband. Let yours do the same, by which they will distinguish each other from the Enemy. Our whole Garrison shall be under Arms, and Measures taken to prevent the Enemy's

[1] Letter from the Select Committee of Fort St. George to the Honble. Robert Clive, Esq., and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 26th January, 1759.

sending any large Detachment from the Black Town, or to take some advantage of them if they should venture it."

Three days later M. de Soupire, with a force of 500 Europeans, 600 sepoys, and 800 black horse, attempted to surprise Preston at the Mount, but their approach was known, and, after a lively cannonade, Captain Preston seeing an advantage, made a push with the Chingleput troops, and seized two of their guns, whilst Mahomed Iffoof with his force kept the main body at bay and prevented them from making an effort to rescue them.[1] The French retreated to St. Thomé, which had become a post of great consequence to their arms, as they made it the station of their boats as well as a temporary repository of their convoys coming by land. In order to intercept a French convoy that he heard was approaching from the south with a large quantity of stores under a strong escort, Preston moved from the Mount and encamped at a village situated two miles to the south of St. Thomé and one from the seashore. He was followed by Yusuf Khan with his force, consisting of "3500 foot, 500 horse, with three bad field-pieces; they encamped to the north of the village and extended almost to the sea with their front towards St. Thomé." The next morning before dawn Soupire with his Europeans only, "who were 600 horse and foot and without field-pieces," fell upon the camp of Yusuf Khan before their approach became known. Great was the surprise and confusion. Yusuf's troops fled in every direction, and he himself had barely time to escape from the back of his tent. Preston, on hearing the enemy's fire, hastened forth with his whole division and attacked the French while they were plundering the camp. Taken by surprise and "having no strong or collected fire to return, they fell, the more they ventured to make resistance, and all at length broke into confusion; but when at some distance, the officers prevailed on them to stop, and they marched off in order."[2] The majority of Yusuf's sepoys having fled across the country and provision "not sufficient for one meal left in the camp,"

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 407. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Preston and Yusuf marched the same evening for Vendalur, where they found a small supply. From thence they proceeded to Chingleput.

As soon as the light appeared on January 2, 1759, Lally, to cover the operations of Soupire, opened fire upon the defences from a battery of six guns, situated at the opening of a street on the rising ground to the westward. It was known as the Lorrain Battery, because the men of that regiment had constructed it. At the same time their mortars, which they had lodged behind the grand battery near the sea known as Lally's Battery, came into full play, throwing their shells in volleys all together. The guns were soon silenced, but the mortars continued their fire the whole day. Fort St. George writes to Fort William:

"The 6th they open'd their Batteries against the Fort, and ever since we have had a continual Fire both of Shot and Shells which have laid almost the whole Town in Ruins, disabled 26 Pieces of Cannon and three Mortars, but have not had the Effect of destroying our Defences; The Enemy have nevertheless advanced their Trenches quite up to the Crest of the Glacis where they are now making a Battery in Breach; Our situation is therefore exceedingly Critical." [1]

Neither the resolution of Pigot and Lawrence, nor the dash and gallantry of Brereton, nor the spirit of the garrison was diminished. Fort St. George adds:

"Under all these Discouragements we have the pleasure to see the whole Garrison do their Duty with the utmost Chearfulness and Spirit. Our Loss to this time is much less than might have been expected from so long a Siege, and so warm a Fire as we have sustained, especially as we are not provided with any Bomb Proof Lodgments except that which we have made an Hospital. We doubt not our Men will preserve the same spirit to the last Extremity, and if the Place should at length be reduc'd we flatter ourselves it will be so dear a Purchase to the Enemy as will put it out of their Power to undertake any thing against the other Presidencies."

The prospect soon grew brighter. The garrison had been anxiously expecting the reinforcements which they had heard Admiral Pocock was sending them. On January 30 a sail,

[1] From the Select Committee of Fort St. George to the Honble. Robert Clive, Esqr., and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort William dated 26th January, 1759.

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which had been in sight to the southward all day, came into the road towards the evening under English colours and proved to be the *Shaftesbury*, East Indiaman.[1] She had parted with the rest of the fleet, bringing Draper's regiment from Bombay, off Galle, January 7.[2] The *Shaftesbury* being the worst sailer, had been made a hospital ship, and she expected to find the fleet at Madras, but

" a luckier vein of wind and current brought her to her port before them. The sick, who were 36 men of the regiment, only added to the distress of the garrison ; but she had on board 37 chests of silver, and many military stores, amongst them, hand-grenades, and bombs of the largest sizes, of which the garrison was much in need, having nearly expended their stock of these articles." [3]

The next day the enemy opened a battery consisting of four pieces of cannon,

" but after three or four hours were obliged by the superior fire of the Fort to close their Embrazures again—the same thing happened for five days successively, after which they abandoned it entirely, and began to fire again from their first grand battery four hundred & fifty yards distant—By y^e^ accounts of Disasters their loss of officers & men in their advanced Battery was very considerable, and they had several pieces of Cannon disabled." [4]

Vansittart in a letter to Clive states that for six mornings they opened this battery at daybreak and were obliged in an hour or two to shut up their embrasures

" At the End of six days they gave it up, and at the same time I believe gave up all hopes of Success ; 'tis true they had open'd a narrow Passage through the counterscarp of the Ditch by a Mine, and had beat down so much Clay from the Face of the Demi Bastion that there was a Slope which a Nimble Man might run up and that is what Mr. Lally calls a Breach, but his People were wiser than he if he propos'd to assault it and they refus'd." [5]

[1] Cambridge : p. 183 ; Orme, Vol. II., p. 425.

[2] " The 31st of the same month arrived the *Shaftesbury* 709, 1808, 1481, 1393 of Colonel Draper's Regiment." Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Select Committee of Fort William—dated 16 Feb. 1759. Powis MSS.

[3] Orme, Vol. II., pp. 425, 426.

[4] Select Committee Fort St. George to Fort William, 16th Feb., 1759.

[5] Vansittart to Clive, dated 2nd March, 1759.

Lally did propose to assault it, and he offered to lead, but the officers declared it was impracticable. It would have been well for the brave Lally if he had met a soldier's death leading his men up that slope.

The weight of the siege fell on Lally himself. The Pondicherry Government rendered him no assistance, his officers were in ill-humour, his soldiers were clamorous for pay long due, his sepoys were deserting in large numbers, his provisions had come almost to an end. An event now promised further ill. A red flag was seen on the Mount. It was the signal that Yusuf Khan had returned. The Select Committee resolved on February 5

"that Captain Vasserot, with a party of the troops, should endeavour to push by the enemy's guards . . . and join Usoff Cawn on the Mount and that each Man should carry a Bag of pagodas. Accordingly, in the Evening after Dusk, Captain Vasserot with ten of the Troops (each carrying One thousand Pagodas divided into four parcells of 250, one tyed on each side the Pummel and one on each Side behind), One Hussar who Deserted from the Enemy in the beginning of the Siege, and the Governours head Horsekeeper (a Mallabar), went out across the New Bridge [1] and as far as the Forde of the River at Chindadre Pettah . . ., and about ten o Clock at Night We had the pleasure to observe a large Fire and 4 Rockets at the Mount, the Signal of the partys being safe arrived there."

Two days after, Major Caillaud, who had been sent back to Tanjore on December 1 to obtain recruits, arrived at the Mount with about 400 horse and three companies of sepoys. As senior officer he assumed command of all the troops. Lally realised that the presence of a British force at the Mount would deprive him of all chance of obtaining supplies. He sent a strong force consisting of 600 European infantry and 1,200 sepoys, 300 European cavalry and 500 black horse with 8 field-pieces to attack the Mount. "The whole was commanded by a relation of Mr. Lally's, of the same name, and with the rank of colonel." [2] On the morning of the 9th the French were

[1] The Walajah Bridge.

[2] Orme, Vol. II., p. 443. "Brigadier Lally, Cousin to the General, commanded the detachment which attacked me at the Mount. The General himself was not there, but it has been said he was. The bearing of the same name accounts naturally for such a report prevailing."—Letter from J. Caillaud to R. Orme, 28th June, 1778.

seen approaching the Mount. Caillaud had drawn up his cavalry, which was entirely Indian, in front of the garden walls of the country houses built by the English at the foot of the hill. When the French came in view the whole of Caillaud's cavalry "set off scampering, shouting and flourishing their sabres." The French cavalry rode forward to meet them at a round trot,[1] but halting suddenly the first rank discharged their carbines.

"Only the front rank fired," wrote Caillaud to Orme, "their halt was momentary, the flight of our Bahauders not less instantaneous on receipt of the fire. I saw them go, turned my horse to the left, clapped spurs to him to gain the first post of Infantry. He galloped with me about an hundred yards, when I felt him staggering under me, on which I threw myself off, saw he was shot full in the breast. There I left him, and made the best of my way to the first post of Sepoys, that was about two hundred yards off, in Bourchier's Garden."

The French cavalry vigorously pursued the fugitives up a lane that separated the two rows of houses, but the enclosures and hedges on each side of it were filled with sepoys whose brisk fire caused them rapidly to rejoin their comrades. The French guns now opened a brisk and indiscriminate fire on the garden wall and on the British advanced post, a small brick building known as "the Swamy House," as it had once contained a "swamy" or idol.[2] Caillaud posted in it 20 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and 2 field-pieces. The French made repeated attacks to take it, but were repulsed. About 11 A.M. the small garrison, elated by their success, rushed out to make a counter-attack. The French cavalry attacked them before they had time to form, scattered them, and cut down many as they fled back to the Swamy House. The enemy now advanced their field-pieces and renewed the bombardment with greater vigour. As the garden walls were slight and

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 443.

[2] "And about 200 yards out on the plain to the south, directly opposite to Carvalho's, stood the ruins of five or six mud houses, with several trees surrounding a small brick building, which had once contained a swamy, or idol."—Orme, Vol. II., p. 441. At an early date the British began to call an idol-temple or pagoda a "Swamy House." The British soldier corrupted this into "Sammy House." The "Sammy House" or old temple on the slope of the ridge at Delhi will be remembered by Englishmen as long as they reverence deeds of valour.—"A History of the Indian Mutiny," by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I., p. 109.

afforded but little protection, "the Sepoys took shelter within the houses ready to man the walls on a closer attack." But the enemy never made a closer attack. In the afternoon their cannonade began to diminish, at sunset it ceased totally, and it was soon known that the French were moving away their artillery. They had abandoned the attack, "for fear of ruining their own guns" by prolonging the cannonade. "Caillaud had just before received information that the musket ammunition was expended to six cartridges a man, and only three balls, besides the grape-shot, left for each of the field-pieces; so that no retreat could have been made, if pressed by the enemy in the open plain." At 8 P.M. "Caillaud marched away with all that remained of his force, in silence, for fear of the enemy's cavalry, and left fires to deceive them." Before the break of day he reached Vandelur, and continuing his march, arrived at Chingleput before noon.

That the sanguine Lally was thoroughly discouraged by the failure of the attack on the Mount is certain from a letter which he dispatched to De Leyrit at Pondicherry on February 14. It was intercepted by Caillaud and immediately forwarded to Madras. The letter showed that Lally was now seriously intending to abandon the siege, and that he was "taking my measures from this day to set fire to the Black Town and blow up the powder-mills." According to his wont, Lally freely dealt out his invectives. He told De Leyrit:

> "I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling directly or indirectly with anything whatever that may have relation to your administration whether civil or military. For I had rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that of Heaven should not."

Lally, however, had not time to carry out his intention of burning the Black Town. Two days only had passed since he wrote his letter to De Leyrit informing him that he intended to abandon the siege when the fate of the operation was decided. On February 16, just after sunset, six vessels were seen from the ramparts some miles to northward. They were

manœuvring to get the breeze which would bring them in. They came on slowly.

" As soon as it grew dark, three Lights were hoisted at the Flag Staff as a mark for the Ships to come by. About Eight o'Clock at Night the Six Ships Anchored in the Road, and to the great Joy of the Garrison proved to be His Majestys Ship *Queenborough*, Capt. Kempenfelt, and the Companys Frigate *Revenge*, with the *Tilbury*, *Winchelsea*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Britannia*, having on board Six Companies of Colonel Drapers Regiment. Mr. Pybus, one of the Council, went off with a Letter from the Governour to Capt. Kempenfelt to Compliment him on his arrival, and to desire him to land as many of the Soldiers as he can to Night ; and Colonel Draper wrote off to Major Monson to the same effect, it being apprehended that, if Mr. Lally does intend to make any push, he will do it this night before our Succours can come to our Assistance. All the Garrison, The Company's Servants, and Inhabitants were therefore ordered under Arms, and continued so the whole Night at their several Alarm Posts, and about two Companys were landed from the ships in the Night. A Constant fire was kept upon the Enemys Trenches, which they sometimes returned, and threw a few Shells in the beginning of the Night, but none after Eleven o Clock. About Midnight three deserters came in separately from St. Thome, and report that the French entirely abandoned that Place . . . ; that their out Posts have been ordered to Join at the Powder Mill, and that the Enemy intend to raise the Siege and march off before day break."

The report of the deserters proved true.

" February 17th.—About three in the morning the enemy set fire to several large piles of wood in the rear of their guard battery, and as soon as the day broke it appeared that the enemy had abandoned their trenches and batterys, and were retreating, and about nine o'clock in the morning they blew up the powder mill at Egmore.

" In the enemy's hospital were found 44 sick and wounded soldiers without one person to attend them. Mr. Lally's sudden march may account for his leaving these people behind, but nothing can justify abandoning them without leaving a line to recommend them to our care. They, however, found humanity in their enemy, which was denied them by their General ; immediate orders were given that the same care should be taken of them as of our own people, and the greatest part have since recovered. The enemy's precipitate retreat prevented the destruction of the Black Town, which was fully intended, as appears by Mr. Lally's letter of the 14th February. The houses in general have suffered, notwithstanding, considerable damage, as well by the loss of doors, windows, &c., which were useful to the enemy, as by our shot and shells. The Company's garden house and the houses belonging to the European inhabitants in the environs and at

the Mount have suffered a severe fate; all of them are greatly damaged; some have only the walls left and nothing but want of time prevented the total demolition of every one."

So ended the siege of Madras, one of the most dramatic incidents in the history of British dominion in India. The success of the defence was due to the wise leadership of Pigot and Stringer Lawrence, to the patience, endurance, and stubborn valour of the garrison, to the far sight of William Pitt, who sent at a critical moment reinforcements to the East, and to the splendid counter-stroke of Clive which kept in the Deccan a large force which would otherwise have joined Lally. During the siege Clive received many urgent appeals from Madras for men and munitions. But he had not got them. When Forde's expedition sailed, only 280 Europeans, "and those the very scum of the men," remained for the defence of Fort William. But though he urgently needed them himself, Clive sent on all reinforcements reaching Calcutta to Madras. He wrote on December 26, 1758:

"The detachment of King's troops on the *Warren* will return in the same ship, which will sail in a few days for Madras. Not a man shall be kept, but you may depend upon every assistance in our power; and if you can but give M. Lally one blow in the field he is ruined. You may draw upon us for what money you choose: we have twenty lacs of rupees in the treasury, but no bullion: the gold in the *Warren* will be sent you. The *Warren* and *Caddalore* sloops will be loaded with provisions."

The Government of Madras pestered Clive with requests that Forde's detachment should be sent to their aid, but Clive was convinced that Lally could not take Madras as long as it was well supplied with provisions and money, and he firmly refused to yield to their request. Clive's action was determined by a wide view both of the military and political situation, and it was crowned with the most complete success.

After his victory at Condore, Forde was anxious to advance from Rajahmundry and take possession of Masulipatam. But Forde was in want of money, and his ally Ananda Raz, waiting to see the result of the siege of Madras, evaded the payment

to which he had bound himself by express stipulation. A great deal of important time was lost before Forde was able to again put his force in motion. On January 25 he wrote to Clive:

"For want of money I have lost a Glorious opportunity of Destroying the French in those parts. They begin now to recover a little from their consternation and are venturing out of Masulipatam with a few men and Some Guns to gather in the rents. The Marquis De Conflans is still continued in the Command, but whether he will try the other bout or not time will shew. He is determined not to be taken Prisoner, unless by a Greyhound, for he Supped at Rajamindry the night of the Engagement, which is at least fifty miles from the field of action." [1]

Three days after Forde's force moved from Peddipore, and on February 6 occupied Elore, "otherwise called Yalore," nearly fifty miles north of Masulipatam. It was a large town, the capital of a district of the same name, one of the four ceded to the French. The large fort in the centre of the city used to be garrisoned mainly by native troops, but Conflans had removed them on his way to Masulipatam, where he intended to make his final stand. The long delay of the English in following up their victory at Condore, due to the hesitation of their ally, had inspired Conflans with a little resolution. He now organised a body of 200 Europeans with four field-pieces and 2,000 sepoys under the command of M. du Rocher, "which he called his army of observation, but they did not venture within less than thirty miles of Elore, and kept moving to the West of Masulipatam collecting or extorting tributes." Ananda Raz, who was also busy in extorting tributes, did not make his appearance. Forde, while waiting for him, sent Captain Knox with a battalion of sepoys to take possession of the French factory at Narsapur [2] twenty miles to the south-east of Elore. On the Zemindar of the district joining Knox, the French troops evacuated it. Knox, leaving a few men with the Zemindar's officials to hold it, returned to Elore. On the 18th the Rajah arrived with all his troops, "and the

[1] Letter from Francis Forde to "Collonel Clive." Powis MSS.
[2] Narsapur or Narasapur.

next day the Zemindar of Narsipore with 1500 foot armed in the fashion of the country." Ananda Raz advanced more pretexts for delay, and it was March 1 before Forde could make a fresh start. On the 7th he reached Masulipatam, and the following day he wrote to the Madras Government as follows:

GENTLEMEN,—Yesterday I arrived here & invested the Town, and as soon as I get my heavy Artillery ashore from the *Hardwick* shall form the siege, since my Arrival here have had the agreeable news (by a Letter from Mr Andrews) of the French having raised the Siege of Fort St. George but no Particulars. I heartily congratulate you on this event, by which you have stopped the progress of our Enemy's and gained immortal honour to yourselves. By my last Orders from Bengal I am to march to your Presidency so soon as the French are drove out of these parts. I have received a letter from Salabat Jung in a very pompous stile full of praises of himself and his Army and a great many high flown expressions, but not a single word whether he is coming as a friend, or an Enemy, ten days ago he was forty corse on this side Hyderabad, I shall send an Embassy to him when he comes within four or five days march of this Place. I send Letters from him to Mr Pigot by this Hircara, if you think proper to send two hundred men to my Assistance the business here will be sooner done, and nothing can then impede my marching to your Presidency.

CAMP BEFORE MAZULIPATAM
8*th March* 1759.

I have the honour to be
Gentlemen
Your most obedient and most humble Servant
FRANCIS FORDE.[1]

The old fort of Masulipatam, where the English first began their adventurous journey on the Coromandel Coast, was situated on the south side a mile and a half from the sea, and it was surrounded on the three land sides by a morass or swamp of great extent from three to eighteen feet deep. The defences, which the French had modernised and improved, consisted on the three land sides, west, north, and east, of eleven bastions of various sizes and shapes, connected by long curtains. Around the whole was a ledge of pointed stakes and a wet ditch, but no glacis. The walls as high as the parapet, like the walls of many Indian forts, were of mud,

[1] Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Madras Secretariat (Clive Series), edited by George W. Forrest, C.I.E.

faced with brick. The front to the south along the sound from the bastion called St. Michael, in the south-west angle, to the opposite bastion in the south-east angle named the François Bastion, had no wall.[1] The front facing the east, from the François Bastion to the Cameleon Bastion in the north-east angle, had a work in the form of a demi-lune called the Dutch Bastion and the St. John Bastion. The front to the north had a small gateway and the churchyard at the north-west corner. The bastion next to the north-west, facing almost west, fronted a broad causeway 2,000 yards in length which led to the *pettah* or native town. In this bastion was the gateway, and from it ran a narrow road carried on a causeway across the morass to the town, situated about a mile and a half to the north-west of the fort on a spot of rising ground. "About 120 yards of this causeway, nearest to the fort, was formed into a long caponnière, which terminated in a ravelin or flèche, the faces and short flanks of which, as well as the sides of the caponnière, were further strengthened by a ditch all round." [2]

Conflans had occupied a strong position near the town, which he might have easily defended with his superior force, but on the approach of the English he retired into the fort. The troops of Ananda Raz and of the Zemindar of Narsapur encamped near the town. They were useful in preventing communication with the interior, but a regular attack from the land sides was not possible, on account of the morass and the limited means at Forde's disposal. He had to keep in touch with the *Hardwicke* and two sloops in the roads which had on board his stores and heavy artillery. Along the sea-shore were some sand-hills about 800 yards from the eastern face of the fort, and separated from it by a branch of the estuary running northward. Among these sand-hills Forde determined to plant three batteries. The south battery, close to the estuary and near a village, bombarded the François

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 479. "Orme's account of the taking of Masulipatam with Yorke's Notes." Orme MSS.
[2] Broome, p. 227; Orme, Vol. II., pp. 480–481.

and Dutch Bastions. The northern fired on the Cameleon, and the centre bastion upon the Bastion St. Jean. To land the siege guns and drag them across the loose sand to their respective positions was a long and tedious task. Meanwhile, Forde's situation became more embarrassing. On March 19 he wrote to the Madras Government:

"I am much distressed for money, the Gentlemen of Bengal say they will send me two lack of Rupees on the *Warren* but as the winds are now Contrary she may not arrive this month or two, I am therefore to request you will send me a lack of Rupees with all possible dispatch. I shou'd not be so pressing but the safety of our Affairs in these parts depends upon a speedy supply. I now owe thirty thousand Rupees to the Seapoys, and twenty thousand prize money which I made use of for the subsistence of the troops, and this month will probably expire before I get any money. Yesterday there was a general mutiny among the Europeans, they all turned out with their Arms, and with great difficulty I cou'd prevail on them to return to their Tents and send one or two of their number to let me know the cause of their behaving in such a manner; their Deputies declared to me that the whole were resolved not to march against Mazulipatam, until they received their prize money, and that in case the town was taken they insisted on the whole Booty being divided without reserving half for the Benefit of the Company; as to the first Article I promised to pay them out of the first money I received and as to the second I told them I cou'd not dispense with a positive order of my Superiours, but that I wou'd keep the Company's half in my hands until I received further orders on that head and promised to represent the hardship they complained of to the Gov[r] and Council of Bengal; this has pacified them for a time, but if money does not arrive soon they may perhaps be as good as their words."

The men returned to their duty with their usual ardour, says Orme. The batteries were, however, not completed till March 25. Two days after grave news reached Forde. He had known for some days that Salabat Jang "was marching this way to join the French," and he now heard that the viceroy "with a large army of Seapoys and Marattas had got within 20 corse [forty miles] of us and was there joined by the French army of observation consisting of 200 Europeans and 2,000 Seapoys." [1] Forde met the danger with the boldness and promptness of a soldier. "If I had

[1] Letter from Francis Forde to Colonel Clive, Masulipatam, June 16th, 1759.

attempted to retreat," he writes to Clive, "they would have fallen on my rear, and no doubt when joined by the Garrison of Masulipatam wou'd have overpowered me, therefore on weighing the circumstances I thought it better to make an attempt on the town before they came too near to me." It was, as he stated, "a bold stroke."

The English batteries had kept up an uninterrupted fire from the day they opened. On the evening of April 6, the same day that Forde heard of the near approach of Salabat Jang and Rocher, the artillery officers reported that there was no more than two days' ammunition left for the service of the batteries.[1] But Forde's calmness and judgment did not fail him. He ordered the guns to fire more briskly through the next day and all the troops to be under arms at ten the following night. All during the 7th the batteries played hotly upon the three bastions. The brick fell off, the mud crumbled away, and practical breaches were opened. The chief fire was directed against the Cameleon,[2] for Forde decided that the main and real attack should be against that bastion and two feints—one by the Rajah's troops, who were to advance along the causeway and skirmish against the ravelin; the other between the St. Michael Bastion in the south-west angle resting on the sound, and the one to the north of it on the south-west front called the Salina. Between these two bastions there was no ditch, but only a muddy swamp. Yorke was told by a native servant, who had formerly lived at Masulipatam, that he had often seen men walking across this swamp. On the night of the 6th Captain Yorke and Knox went out at midnight, "covered properly to resemble black men naked, and entered the quagmire, which they passed half over, and found it not above knee deep, but the mud very tenacious." They returned undiscovered, and Forde, on hearing their report, settled that Captain Knox

[1] Orme, Vol. II., 483.

[2] Orme states: "Each of the three had been equally fired upon, to confound the enemy's guess of the assault." Major Yorke was of opinion "that the fire of our batterys was principally directed against the Cameleon."—Major Yorke's Notes. Orme MSS.

with his own (1st) battalion and a detail of Madras sepoys, altogether some 700 in number, should make an attack in this quarter at the same time as the main assault. The European battalion, a small body of 312 bayonets, reinforced with 30 sailors from the *Hardwicke* and the artillerymen 30 in number, together with half the sepoys, about 700 men, were allotted for the main attack.[1] The storming party was divided into three divisions—the first composed of the European and Native grenadiers under Captain Fischer with the 30 gunners; the second, consisting of the other four companies of the European battalion and the sailors under Captain Yorke; and the third, of the remainder of the sepoys under Captain Maclean.

On the night of the 7th the whole camp was under arms at the appointed time. "When everything was ready," says Forde, "I asked where Captain Callender (who was to lead the first division of Europeans) was, and sent the Adjutant to his tent to look for him, but not finding him, we marched to the place appointed where we were to be joined by the Battery guards." They "remained at the rendez-vous about an hour," waiting till the false attack, which was to be made by Knox at 1 o'clock, began.[2] At that hour the assaulting column "marched as fast as we could up to the middle in mud and water."[3] As they struggled through the morass they were joined by the gunners, who did not quit the batteries until the last moment. The ditch was crossed, the leading division commanded by Fischer was approaching, when they were discovered by the enemy, who gathered in the breach and began to fire as well from their flanking cannon as their musketry. The fire, however, "only encreased the ardour of the assailants." The shots told heavily on them, but

[1] Broome, p. 234. Orme writes: "Their whole number was 346 Europeans, rank and file; the Sepoys amounted to 1400; of which the other half were allotted to the false attack to be led by Captain Knox."—Orme, Vol. II., p. 484.

[2] Letter from Colonel Forde to Colonel Clive, Masulipatam, June 16th, 1759.

[3] *Ibid.* Orme in the Memorandum he sent to Yorke writes that the troops crossed "from the dry ground directly opposite to the bastion of St. Jean." In his history he states "directly opposite to the Cameleon."—Orme, Vol. II., p. 485.

heedless of those who fell, they hacked away at the strong palisades while Yorke kept up a brisk fire against the north flank and north-east face of St. John's Bastion[1] on the left and Captain Maclean's division of sepoys on the Little Gate Bastion to the right of the Cameleon. Gradually a passage was cleared, and the British soldiers rushed up the breach in the Cameleon. " Of the foremost several were killed, but more crowding on, in about ten minutes footing was gained." Yorke's division at once followed up the breach and entered the bastion. The Cameleon secured, Fischer's division marched along the rampart to the right[2] towards the Little Gate Bastion with a view to secure the northern face of the fort. Captain Moran at the head of his division discovered a light field-piece with its ammunition on the bastion. He proposed to Yorke to turn it towards the left to sweep the rampart along the east face. Yorke adopted the suggestion and ordered some of the artillerymen that were with him to turn the gun towards the east face and open fire. When a number of sepoys of Maclean's division, sufficient to hold the bastion, had come up the breach, he determined to follow in the same direction. Just as he was on the point of starting, he saw below a body of French sepoys advancing up the road between the rampart and the buildings in the body of the fort. " Yorke immediately ran down, and seizing the French officer at the head of the Sepoys, bid him order them to lay down their arms and surrender; which they obeyed with little reluctance, and were sent up to the bastion." [3] Yorke, finding the road broader than the line of the rampart and free from interruption, brought his men down from the bastion and marched towards the St. Jean Bastion, while the field-piece kept the line of the rampart clear by a continuous fire. On reaching the gorge of the St. Jean, the guard of the bastion, consisting of " 20 Europeans and more Sepoys, fired down,

[1] Yorke's Notes.

[2] Orme commits the error of writing " St. John's on the right and that called the small gate on the left." It should be " St. John's on the left and the Little Gate on the right." Yorke in his notes points out the mistake.

[3] Orme, Vol. II., pp. 485–486.

which killed several and wounded more, and then immediately cried out that they would surrender. The return of their fire was spared, their arms were gathered, and they were conducted by a party to the Cameleon." Yorke now pushed on to the Dutch Bastion, " where the enemy behaved in the same manner as on St. Jean's and were treated with the same ill-timed lenity by me." [1] Yorke was anxious to push forward to the François, and by taking it obtain complete possession of the eastern front. But his division had been considerably diminished in number, darkness had begun to fall, " and many showed much less willingness to go on, for darkness covers shame." They, however, yielded to the exhortations of Yorke; but they had not gone many steps when they came to a small brick building close to the rampart. It was an " expense magazine." [2] Some of the soldiers went inside, and one of them, on seeing the powder barrels, cried " A mine ! " Terror seized them. The line instantly ran back like a flock of sheep towards the St. Jean Bastion.[3] The officers, vainly exhorting and entreating, were borne along with them. Yorke, marching at their head, was left alone with only two drummers, " who were black boys, and beating the grenadiers' march, which they continued, but in vain, for none rejoined." [4] Yorke went back and found his men in confusion near St. Jean's Bastion,[5] " from whence," says Yorke, " I led them on several times, sometimes by threats and sometimes by exhortations." Meanwhile, the officer commanding the François Bastion had brought down a gun loaded with grape and pointed it up the road. When Yorke made his last desperate advance,[6] with 30 or 40 volunteers, old soldiers of his own regiment

[1] Yorke's Notes.

[2] Orme in his history writes: " It was an extensive magazine of ammunition."—Orme, Vol. II., p. 488. In the Memorandum he sent to Yorke he states: " It was an expense magazine." (" Expense magazine," one in which a small portion of ammunition is kept for immediate use.—N. E. D.)

[3] Yorke's Notes.

[4] Orme's Memorandum.

[5] Orme writes: " And all instantly ran back to the Cameleon."—Orme, Vol. II., p. 346. Yorke corrected this in the Memorandum. He states: " They never retreated so far back as the Cameleon until after I was wounded and carried off into that bastion."

[6] Yorke writes: " More properly in this case a forlorn hope."

the 39th,[1] the French waited till the head of the line approached within a few yards and then they fired, killing several and wounding sixteen. "Captain Yorke fell with a ball through each of his thighs, and each of the black drummers was killed dead at his side." Yorke was carried to the Cameleon, and "the whole of my Division," he says, "retreated . . . except those who had been posted on the St. Jean's and Dutch Bastions." "Then indeed they crowded into it and wou'd have gone out at the breach had not the officers kept them back by the points of their swords." [2] The guards at the St. Jean's and Dutch Bastions kept their posts until the firing ceased on all sides.[3]

Captain Fischer, meanwhile, with the 1st Division had been engaged in clearing the northern and western fronts. Advancing along the ramparts from the Cameleon, he drove the guards from the two bastions on the northern side, and then, moving down the western face, he reached the Great Gateway Bastion near the causeway. Here the majority of the garrison joined the guard and the principal resistance was made. The bastion was cleared, the gate below secured, and the troops, who were defending the ravelin against the Rajah's attack, prevented from returning to the fort. Fischer then pushed on to the next bastion, the Pettah, from which a few dropping shots were fired as they moved forward. During the advance Captain Callender suddenly appeared and was shot dead on the spot. "But how he got there the Lord Almighty knows, for not a man in our army ever saw him from ten o'clock the evening before till about a minute before he was kill'd, and then he was seen only by Fischer and Stebbert.[4]

[1] "Instead of Grenadiers," writes Yorke, "they were Battalion men, but they were old soldiers who had quitted His Majesty's 39th Regt. when that left India and enter'd into the Company's Service with me. . . . They never were brought to order after the 1st Panick and the last effort which I made was at the head of 30 or 40 Volunteers above mentioned, the rest lay on the ground."

[2] Yorke's Notes. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Letter from Colonel Forde to Colonel Clive, Masulipatam, June 16, 1759. Orme states that "whilst the division was getting in order to proceed again appeared Captain Callender no one knew from whence and taking the command, marched at their head towards the next bastion called the Pettah."—Orme, Vol. II., p. 488. Yorke, commenting on Orme's account, writes: "All this, the

Callender's servant was asked where his master had been the previous night. He said: "He was in his tent when the firing began and as soon as he heard it he bounc'd up and ran towards the town." Some of his particular friends said that for some days before he always declared he would be killed in the assault. Soon after the death of Callender Fischer received a message from Forde ordering him to cease firing, as Conflans had surrendered.

Forde had remained on the Cameleon with the reserves, and directed operations on the right and left. Conflans during the attack remained in the arsenal, "a strong stone building, part of it bomb proof, and where he kept the Grenadier Company and other troops for his own protection during the whole line of attack." [1] The main assault on the eastern front took him by surprise, and he sent contradictory orders when the report reached him of the fall of a bastion. At the moment when Yorke's men were seized with panic he despatched an officer to the English commander offering to capitulate on honourable terms. Forde insisted on unconditional surrender. All resistance must cease immediately, and the whole garrison must assemble at the parade under the bastion of the great gateway to surrender their arms. At two in the morning, "whilst it was dark, but with the proper precautions taken by the English troops to prevent treachery and surprise," [2] the French troops laid down their arms, and the next morning the British flag was hoisted on the ramparts of Masulipatam. The following is Forde's own terse account of a daring feat of arms:

To The Hon'ble George Pigot, Esq^r^, & Council of Fort St. George.

Gentlemen,—On the Night between the 7^th^ and 8^th^ Instant I attacked Mazulipatam and after a very sharp conflict had the good fortune to get possession of it. I have taken near five hundred European Prisoners, One hundred of which are Officers Civilians & Ship People, the remainder are Soldiers, my whole force consisted of three hundred and fifteen rank and file, thirty of which were Volun-

progress of Fischer's attack is part certain, part conjecture. It is certain that the principal resistance was made at the bastion of the great gate. Callender by all accounts was killed by the last shot after that bastion was secured."

[1] Yorke's Notes. [2] *Ibid.*

teer Seamen belonging to the *Hardwick*—twenty one of my people are killed and sixty wounded, one seaman killed and six wounded. I am of opinion this place shou'd be kept in our hands, as it is by far the strongest situation in India ; my fifteen hundred Seapoys behaved very well, with one half of them I made a false attack & joined the other with the Europeans at the real attack, they mounted the Ramparts with the Europeans and behaved with great humanity after they had got in. I have lost great numbers of them both at the false and real attack, Captain Kallendar is among the slain as is Moodenbeg my Commandant of Seapoys.

The success of the expedition which Clive sent to the Carnatic was greater than even his daring and commanding genius could have foreseen. The military and political actions were carried out without a failure, because Clive chose the right man to do the work, and he did it with promptness, daring, and resolution. Eight days after Masulipatam fell, two French vessels appeared in the road. They had on board 300 troops whom Lally had dispatched on hearing that the fort was besieged. On finding that it had been captured, they sailed away. The news of the capture of the fort greatly astonished and vexed Salabat Jang. He at once communicated with du Rocher, and it was determined to advance and assist the reinforcement, which was daily expected. On April 18 Forde wrote : " The French still make their party good with Salabat Jang, he has sent his Morattas before to block us up, marches after them himself with the French in the van." Forde acted with his usual boldness and promptness. " Half my people are employed in guarding the Prisoners in Mazulipatam," he wrote ; " with the other half I shall keep out as long as I can, for if I once retire into the Fort the men from the ships will land immediately." When the ships disappeared Salabat Jang, seeing that it was not possible to retake Masulipatam, and losing all faith in the power of the French to render him aid in maintaining his throne against the ambition of his brother Nizam Ali, opened negotiations with Forde. On May 12, 1759,[1] the treaty was concluded. It ceded to the

[1] In the original draft of the treaty sent to the Madras Government at the time we have—" Dated Moon Ramadan the 16 Hegra 1172 which is the 14th of May 1759."

British by the first article the Northern Sircars, the rich territory which had been assigned to Bussy for the payment of his troops; and by the second article Salabat Jang bound himself to oblige the French troops to move to any place out of the Deccan country on the other side of the river Kishna. "In future he will not suffer them to have a Settlement in this Country on any account whatever, nor keep them in his Service, nor assist them, nor call them to his Assistance." By his effective diversion in marching against Arcot Clive dealt a heavy blow to French power in Southern India, and by creating a diversion in dispatching a force to the Northern Sircars he struck a fatal blow at French preponderance in the Deccan.

CHAPTER III

1758–1760 : THE FOUNDATIONS OF EMPIRE

On September 15, 1758, Clive wrote to Pigot : " If the next Ships bring a nomination of a President, I shall soon take my departure for England ; but if the news of Placis should prevail upon the Directors to appoint me, I shall be obliged to continue." The news of Plassey did prevail on the Directors. It was not till February, 1758, that they heard of the battle and the far-reaching results of the victory. On March 8 they appointed Clive " in consideration of his eminent and repeated services to be sole President and Governor of Fort William in case it should suit his health to remain in India." They added, " Colonel Clive as Governor is of course to be added to the Select Committee appointed by our letter of the 11th November of which he is to be the chief and presiding member." The appointments were made and the orders dispatched three months before the resolution of the Council at Calcutta was passed appointing Clive President. But many months passed before the orders reached Calcutta. On November 23 Clive wrote to " The Gentlemen of Council at Fort William " :

" I must now acquaint the Board, I thought a final appointment from England and of course a cessation of my authority in Bengal would have admitted of my returning to Europe a twelvemonth ago, but intestine trouble in the Country and the situation of affairs in general have detained me till the arrival of the *Warren* and *London*, by which Ships I find the Court of Directors have done me the honor to appoint me to the Presidency of Bengal, accompanied with such marks of regard and esteem as have induc'd me to continue 14 or 15 months longer in India, by which time I persuade myself the Treaty with the Nabob will be fulfilled, the fortifications in a state of defence, and such a force arrived from England as may secure to the Company their valuable acquisitions : these three objects are what I have always had much at heart, and if they can be compleated, I flatter

myself the Court of Directors will think I have answer'd their expectations, and will approve of my returning to Europe, to enjoy the fruits of War which has been carried on for upward of eleven years almost without intermission."

On December 29 Clive wrote to his father as follows:

Hon'd Sir,—I have rec.d your Letter of the 23rd of March. You will find I am not likely to be at home so soon as you expected, the Earnest desire of the Court of Directors added to the persuasions of the Gentlemen here have prevailed upon me to stay one year longer. I beg you wo.d not be uneasy on this Account, for you may be assur'd no consideration whatever shall induce me to stay beyond that time, and I have acquainted the Court of Directors with such my intentions.

To give you some idea, how much the general opinion of India as well as of England was against a Government of four, I inclose a letter address'd me many months before the abolishment of that form of Government was known by all the Gentlemen of Council, by which you will observe I was requested to accept of this Governm.t unanimously, some Months before the News of my Appointm.t from Home reach'd Us.

I am now projecting the ruin of the French in Golconda, for which purpose I have sent Col.l Ford with 500 Europeans & 2000 Blacks to join a powerful prince now in Arms against them; my last Letters advise of their Junction and that the French were retreating before them—I expect more important News very soon.

Be not uneasy at the loss of St. David (which was scandalously given up): notwithstanding this success the French are in a very bad way & will I hope be at the point of destruction by the latter end of next year; we have so totally exterpated them out of Bengal that there is not one of them within 600 miles of Us.

If you sho.d have Occasion for a sum of Money to purchase Commissions for either of my Brothers or to answer any other purpose which may be for their Advantage You will apply to my Attorneys who I desire may supply you accordingly.

I cannot conclude this Letter without desiring You will make use of all your Interest & that of your Friends, in Support of Mr. Sullivan, and if there sh.d be Occasion to lay out any of my Mony in India Stock to effect my intentions, I desire my Attorneys may do it.

My Brother in Law Capt.n Maskelyne goes by this Conveyance & will bring you this: he is worth, 10, or 11,000. I beg you will assist in settling him in the World and in getting him a good Wife. Mr. Walsh will also often call upon you from him. You may have a full detail of all our India transactions.

I wrote my Mother last Year and shall again this, I desire you

will assure her of my tenderest regard & respect: my Brothers & Sisters have always my best wishes.

I am
Hon'd Sir
Your Affect & dutiful son
R. C.

The following day he thus communicated his views to Lawrence Sulivan, afterwards his most bitter foe:

Sir,—You have my hearty and sincere congratulations on an event long most impatiently wish'd for by me. I was always of opinion the Company's affairs could never be carried on to advantage, but under the management of one or more of those Gentlemen who brought home with them a just knowledge of India acquired by many years experience. Give me leave to offer my Interest and that of my friends, because I am persuaded Your utmost endeavour will be exerted for the benefit of Your Employers.

If Ambition satisfied in its greatest extent, and the gratification of every wish now center'd in my native Country, be not motives sufficient to induce me to return there, I know not what are; yet Sir a thorough conviction of what I owe to my Country and the Company has prevailed upon me to continue one year longer in India, with no other view in nature, than that of seeing the Company's affairs in Bengal, important as they now are, put upon such a footing, as nothing but the want of a timely exertion from home can destroy. After having said thus much, I am persuaded You will do justice to my intentions, and bestow that attention on what I may represent, as the importance of the Subject requires.

The General Letter, as well as that from the Select to the Secret Committee, will give You some idea of what Bengal is at present, and what it may be in future. I shall endeavour to enlarge upon these letters, and lay before You some particulars, which at first sight may not be thought so proper to entrust the Public with.

If we are to decide from the consequences of the War carried on at the Coast of Coromandel, Every Well wisher to the Company and to the trade of the Nation must call aloud for a speedy peace with our Enemies the French, and that every thing in India may be reduced to its first principles; but when we compare the importance and condition of the one with the ruinous state of the other, We shall soon be convinced, that a speedy and well timed effort made in this Province must be attended with real and solid advantages to the Company.

Enclosed I send You an exact state of the Revenues of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, & Orissa; this is not an account of hearsay, but an account taken verbatim from the books of the Prime Minister Roydulap, who now resides at Calcutta under the English protection.

The opportunities afforded me by the late Revolution have given

me a just knowledge of the Subject I am writing upon, experience, not conjecture, or the report of others, has made me well acquainted with the genius of the people, and nature of the Country, and I can assert with some degree of confidence, that this rich & flourishing kingdom may be totally subdued by so small a force as two thousand Europeans, and the possession thereof maintain'd & confirm'd by the Great Mogul upon paying the Sum of 50 Laack p^{r} annum, paid by former Subahs.

The Moors, as well as Gentoos, are indolent, luxurious, ignorant, and cowardly, beyond all conception ; the Country itself is full of great and navigable Rivers, is very woody, enclosed by mountains with narrow passes ; in short every thing conspires to render Infantry formidable, and Cavalry (in which the chief strength of Indostan consists) a meer bugbear. The Soldiers, if they deserve that name, have not the least attachment to their Prince, he only can expect Service from them who pays them best, but it is a matter of great indifference to them whom they serve ; and I am fully persuaded that after the battle of Placis I could have appropriated the whole Country to the Company and preserved it afterwards with as much ease as Meer Jaffeir the present Subah now does, through the terror of the English Arms and their influence.

The Power of the Empire is greatly broken by intestine commotions, and perhaps its total ruin has been in a manner prevented by the sums of money sent to Delly by the late Subah Anaverdy Khan. Since his death the remittances have been very precarious & uncertain, and the sums sent much short of the 50 Laack stipulated to be paid annually. The Marattas indeed have weight sufficient to enforce the payment of the Ghout, which is 12 Laack exclusive of the Countries of Ballasore and Cuttack, which may produce as much more. (You will observe these two Countries are not included in the state of Revenues) The Vizier, who is the sole support of the Imperial Throne, has been long desirous of the English Interest with the Nabob to obtain the Ballance due from the Provinces, and there is not the least doubt that he would much rather grant the Royal Sunad to a Nation famed for the success of their Arms and for their strict adherence to treaties, than to one who is scarce master of any other influence or authority but what he enjoys under the Wings of the English reputation.

I am persuaded You will believe I do not want to aggrandize the Company at the expence of all equity and justice ; long may the present Subah enjoy the advantages gained him by our Arms, if he abides strictly by his Treaties. But You, Sir, who have resided so long in India, are well acquainted with the nature & dispositions of these Mussulmen, gratitude they have none, bare Men of very narrow conceptions, and have adopted a system of Politicks more peculiar to this Country than any other, viz. ; to attempt every thing by treachery rather than force. Under these circumstances may not so weak a Prince as Meer Jaffeir be easily destroyed, or influenced

by others to attempt destroying us. What is it then can enable us to secure our present Acquisitions or improve upon them, but such a force as leaves nothing to the power of Treachery or Ingratitude.

I shall conclude this subject with mentioning to You the Bearer Mr. John Walsh ; his abilities & the knowledge he has acquired by acting in the quality of my Secretary during the Bengal Expedition make him by much the fittest Person to lay before You the whole extent of my designs, and as such I recommend him to your notice and most serious attention.

As the Company's Privileges have been greatly extended, so ought their views also ; to conduct & carry on the affairs of Bengal to advantage not only requires Servants of abilities, but many of them. Mr. Watts has not I think had that justice done to his merit which his Services at Muxadavad and since have deserved, therefore I cannot blame him for resigning. It was with much difficulty I prevailed upon Messrs Manningham & Frankland to give me their assistance another year, the latter I believe may be prevail'd upon to stay still longer. Mr Holwell has talents, but I fear wants a heart, therefore unfit to preside where integrity as well as capacity are equally essential. Those who are more immediately to supply the vacant Seats of this Board I dare not recommend to You, (Mr. Sumner excepted) and I think it a duty I owe to my Employers to call to Your remembrance Messrs. VanSittart & Dupre, two Gentlemen whose Abilities & Integrity would do credit to any employ ; the merit of the former shines with so peculiar & bright a lustre as must make his services coveted by every well wisher to the Company, and they cannot shine in my opinion to greater advantage than at the Council Board of Calcutta. The Reverend Mr. Palk without regard to his Cloth, was deemed worthy of a Seat in the Committee at Madrass, M. Fullerton is not less so, and may be of equal utility in Bengal. There is not a Gentleman on this side of the Cape so well qualified to be Your Major as Capt Caillaud ; it is hard to say whether his Abilities or zeal for your Service be greater. I know no one so equal to the task of carrying on a part or the whole of my designs under the direction of a President of Council as that Gentleman. If any accident should happen to him, or he should chuse to stay on the Coast, let me recommend as a fit person to succeed him Capt. Carnac ; I have had an opportunity of studying him, and can assure You he is Master of an excellent Heart & of Talents in the military way sufficient to do honour to his Employers. I believe this Gentleman will be recommended to You by Col. Lawrence & other hands which will serve to illustrate my account of him.

I can declare to You, Sir, with great truth and sincerity, I have no other attachment to particular Persons, than what their capacity of serving the Company entitles them to. As I am independent in my circumstances, so am I in my affections where the Good of the Service calls upon me to be so : and I should never have given Mr. Sullivan the trouble of reading this letter, if I was not convinced

he would look upon every syllable of it as proceeding from the dictates of a Heart full of zeal & Gratitude for the Company.

That your Endeavours may be crowned with all imaginable success is the true wish of

Sir
Your most obedient
humble Servant
R. C.

CALCUTTA,
30*th Dec.* 1758.

Clive told his colleagues that placing the fortifications in a sound state of defence and obtaining sufficient recruits were two objects he had always much at heart. Now that he was confirmed in the government of Bengal he urged on the Court with renewed vigour the necessity of sending a sufficient force, "in order to fix the great revolution that has been brought about in their favour." He wrote them a grave warning, the neglect of which put an end a century later to their own rule and endangered the existence of British rule in India: "Though matters are perfectly quiet at present, 'tis hard to say how long the calm will last; and such is the nature of this country and government, that the only certain expedient of securing their friendship is, by keeping up such a force as will render it unsafe for them to break with us." The Court, owing to the war in Germany and the operations in America, found it difficult to obtain any recruits. In order to increase the efficiency and organisation of his small European force, Clive formed a number of efficient men who had volunteered from His Majesty's 39th Regiment, and also from the British detachments sent from Madras and Bombay, into a Bengal European battalion,[1] a regiment whose active courage in services of the greatest danger materially helped to extend the bounds of our Indian Empire and to preserve it in the hour of extreme peril.

Clive also reorganised and formed into two companies the artillery, and so laid the foundation of a force which was materially instrumental in obtaining some of the most decisive victories recorded in the annals of our Indian Empire. He also raised a fourth battalion of sepoys. The amalgamation

[1] Now the 1st Battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

of the different detachments of the European troops raised the knotty question of seniority. To Clive belongs the credit of first seeing that distinct armies in the three Presidencies, Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, under separate control, was detrimental to efficiency. He ordered that the distinction of Presidencies should cease and that the officers should take rank according to the date of their commissions. The establishment of a battalion of Native Infantry was then one captain who commanded, one lieutenant, and one ensign who acted as field officer. The lieutenant and ensign had two rupees, or four shillings, per day "for disciplining their men," in which they were assisted by a European sergeant-major and a few European sergeants. There was a Native commandant, who took post in front with the captain, and a Native adjutant, who remained in the rear with the subalterns.

"Each company had a subadar, three jemadars, five hawuldars, (one of which was a colour man,) four naicks, two tom-toms, one trumpeter, and seventy Sepoys. Each company had a stand of colours attached to it, of the same colour as the facings of the men; in the center of which was the subadar's device or badge, such as a sabre, a dagger, a crescent, &c. and the Grenadiers, by way of distinction, had the British Union in the upper corner." [1]

Some of the captains remonstrated against the incorporation of the troops, as it led to their supersession, and they resigned the service. They complained to the Council, and Clive in the following letter expressed his opinion regarding their grievance:

"A Complaint having been laid before You by the Captains who have lately resigned Your Service, of their having been superceded, the which they alledge is the pretext for their having taken such a step, I think it incumbent upon me, tho' I am persuaded You are fully convinced of the injustice of the Complaint, to take some notice thereof, for the information of the Gentlemen at home, who may not so thoroughly understand the affair.

The remonstrating Captains have, either wilfully, or ignorantly, greatly misrepresented the nature of superceding. An Officer cannot be said to be superceded, unless one of inferior rank to himself in the same Corps be put over his head. Now I can safely aver, that

[1] "An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Army," by the late Captain Williams.

I never during the whole of my command have done so by any Officer, except in the case of Cap.t Lieu.t Wagner, to whom I refused giving a vacant Company, as I did not think him deserving thereof.

The incorporation of the Troops having been determined on as a necessary measure, the several Officers of the three different Establishments being now united were of course to take rank according to the dates of their respective Commissions, in the same manner as the Officers of different Corps in his Majesty's Service when they happen to meet. Now as Cap.t Gouin had been ordered here by the Presidency of Bombay to take the Command of their Detachment, without their knowing that such incorporation was to take place, it is evident they could have no design of injuring the Officers of this Establishment, as has been injudiciously represented; and therefore to have sent him back, after having been so formally ordered here, would have been the highest indignity to the Council of Bombay, as well as to the Gentleman himself: and as he remained here, he had an undoubted right to maintain that rank, which the seniority of his Commission gave him.

Cap.ts Scotney and Flaction have likewise stated their case very unfairly. The Gentlemen, whom they alledge to have been put over them, were Officers from His Majesty's Regiment, whom, at Col.o Forde's particular recommendation, You were pleased to appoint Captains upon Your Establishment, previous to the incorporation. Cap.ts Scotney and Flaction belonged to the Madrass Corps, and therefore had no right to complain, as they were no ways injured by such appointment.

The truth of the matter is, the most of the Gentlemen, who have been so violent in their remonstrance, were grown sufficiently rich in Your Service, to be desirous of any pretence for quitting it. They will prove however no great loss, as no services can be expected from Men who have so little spirit and gratitude as to resign their commissions at this critical time, and that upon such frivolous and ill grounded pretences.

I flatter myself it will now be obvious to every unprejudiced person, that I have been unjustly charged by these Gentlemen with having superceded them, the doing of which I will readily agree ought to be practiced as seldom as possible. Yet such is the nature of the Service in this Country, that the very preservation of Your Settlement may at times depend on taking such a step; and as, by the want of Field Officers, Your Captains are often entrusted with the conducting of Expeditions of the utmost importance, in such case, if You be desirous of ensuring success, You must have regard to the Man only, and not his Rank."

Clive's warning to the Directors that no man can tell how long a calm will last in India was soon justified by events. Early in 1759 a storm burst from the north. The Mogul

Emperor Alamgir II. and his family were at this time virtual prisoners in the hands of the Vizier Ghazi-ud-din. His son, Ali Gohar, the Crown Prince or Shahzada, was a fugitive from Delhi, wandering about India in search of support, and after being some months under the protection of the chief of the Rohillas, he advanced with a band of adventurers towards the frontier of Bengal. He had been informed of the distracted state of the province, and that it was prepared to welcome a deliverer. Meer Jaffier had by his indolence, debauchery, and sordid avarice alienated all his subjects. "They now remembered Seradj-ed-doulah," says the Mohammedan historian, "and remembered him with shame and regret: their enmity to him changed into pity and commiseration; and they were daily regretting him, and speaking to his advantage: and this was the general sense of the public, whether amongst the knowing ones, or amongst the simple, whether in public or in private." [1] The Seths, the Court bankers, played an important part in placing Meer Jaffier on the throne: they realised it was little use appealing to the English to deprive him of it, and they sent an invitation to the Shahzada to occupy the *musnud*. The Mogul Crown Prince also received many pressing invitations from Mohammed Kuli, Viceroy of Allahabad, and Shuja Dowla,[2] the Newab of Oudh. The Viceroy of Allahabad being a neighbour, knew that Meer Jaffier's kingdom was on the edge of a civil war, "and as he was wholly dissatisfied with the confined limits of his principality, and the smallness of his income, he conceived the design of bettering his fortune by the conquest of either Azimabad or Bengal." [3] The Nawab of Oudh had one great end before him. The Viceroy of Allahabad was his cousin, and had disputed his succession. He "wished this long time," says the native historian, "to see his kinsman out of Ilah-abad, encouraged him in his scheme, promised his assistance, and offered to follow his steps, as soon as he should have made an impression on the enemies' country." [4]

[1] Seir Mutaqherin, p. 41. [2] Shujā'u-d-daulah (*see* Vol. II., p. 31, note).
[3] Seir Mutaqherin, p. 42. [4] *Ibid.*

On January 31 Warren Hastings wrote to Clive informing him that one of the Seths had " carried a Letter to the Nabob " the previous night, " which had just arriv'd from Benares, & mentioned that the King's[1] Son had reach'd that City with his Army." In the same letter he stated :

" I doubt not you have already hear'd of the Seats intended Pilgrimage to Parsnaut. They will set out about the middle or latter End of the next Month. Their whole Family & Effects go with them, only Kewadass will remain to take charge of their House. What their real Design is, is variously conjectured. The approach of the Shahzada just at the time of their Departure, the extraordinary preparations made for their Journey & their carrying their whole Family & Fortune with them, have greatly the appearance of some Motive much deeper than a meer Pilgrimage, & the more so, as I believe the two Brothers were never known before to leave their House both at the same time."

The next day he informs Clive that a guard of 2,000 sepoys with four heavy Afghan pieces called *jazails* was appointed to attend the Seths. At the close of the letter he reminds Clive of a fine distinction in Oriental etiquette :

" I forgot to mention that I ordered the Vackeel to speak to Golam Hossein Cawm about the large Seal with which the Nabob always sealed his Letters to you. He said it was owing to your writing to him once or twice in the same Manner, but that he would represent the Impropriety of it to the Nabob, & that it should be otherwise for the future. Since that time the Nabob's Letters to you have had his small Seal affixed to them. You well know of what Importance these Ceremonials are held, & I hope will pardon my dwelling on so seemingly trifling a Particular."

On February 7 Hastings in his letter mentioned that he had seen the young Nawab, who " desired me very earnestly to write you concerning the State of Affairs here, & to represent to you the Necessity of taking the Field immediately, as Delays at this Time might be of the utmost ill Consequence, the King's Son being already so near Patna."

It was a critical moment. " The siege of Madrass was actually begun, and we had sent them part of the forces that came out on this year's shipping ; so that our whole force

[1] The Mogul Emperor was then most frequently mentioned as the King.

was but 300 infantry, 100 train, and 2500 seapoys; most of whom had never seen an action." [1] Clive acted with his usual promptness and vigour. He wrote to Hastings on February 10:

"I now write to the Nabob myself; however, would have you immediately upon the receipt hereof to wait upon him, and assure him, in my Name, of my Constant fidelity and attachment, and that he may depend upon the English Nation supporting him to the Utmost; that while so happy a Union subsists between us, we shall prove an overmatch for all our Enemies."

In his letter to the Nawab Clive stated:

"I would not have you think of coming to any terms with him, but proceed to take the necessary measures to defend your city to the last. On Monday, the last of this month, I shall take the field, and will have every thing in readiness to march to your assistance if necessary. Rest assured that the English are your stanch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part."

Six days after, Clive dispatched a letter to Hastings informing him that he had written "immediately to y^e^ Nabob upon hearing from You y^e^ report y^t^ He had authorized y^e^ Seat to buy off the Shahzadah, and have represented to him in y^e^ strongest terms y^t^ such a measure will inevitably bring on his ruin."

He wrote to the Nawab:

"I have just heard a piece of intelligence, which I can scarce give credit to; it is, that your Excellency is going to offer a sum of money to the King's son. If you do this, you will have Sujah-u-Dowlah, the Mahrattas, and many more, come from all parts to the confines of your country, who will bully you out of money, till you have none left in your treasury. If your Excellency should pursue this method, it will be furnishing the King's son with the means to raise forces, which, indeed, may endanger the loss of your country. What will be said, if the great Jaffier Ali Khan, Subah of this province, who commands an army of sixty thousand men, should offer money to a boy who has scarce a soldier with him? I beg your Excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English and of those troops which are attached to you."

Clive had the difficult task not only of strengthening the resolution of the weak and vacillating Meer Jaffier, but he

[1] Scrafton's "Reflections," p. 119.

had also to secure the fidelity of Ram Narain, whom Meer Jaffier was still plotting to remove and plunder. Ram Narain felt acutely the danger and isolation of his position, and he sent urgent letters to the Nawab and Clive begging for immediate support. Clive at once assured him of his aid and protection. But the near approach of the invading force kept alive his fears. On February 4, Amyatt, the head of the factory at Patna, informed Clive: "Ram Narain thinks he is no match for the Shazada." Clive wrote at once to Ram Narain:

"It was on account of your strictness for justice, your courage, and your fidelity, that I got the Nabob to confirm you in the Subahship of Patna. It surprises me much to hear that you suffer yourself to be under such apprehensions of the King's son, who has not more than two thousand men. I would have you march out of the city with your forces, and encamp at a distance. Mr. Amyatt will accompany you. I have this day pitched my tent, and (with the blessing of God), if it be necessary, I will come to your assistance."

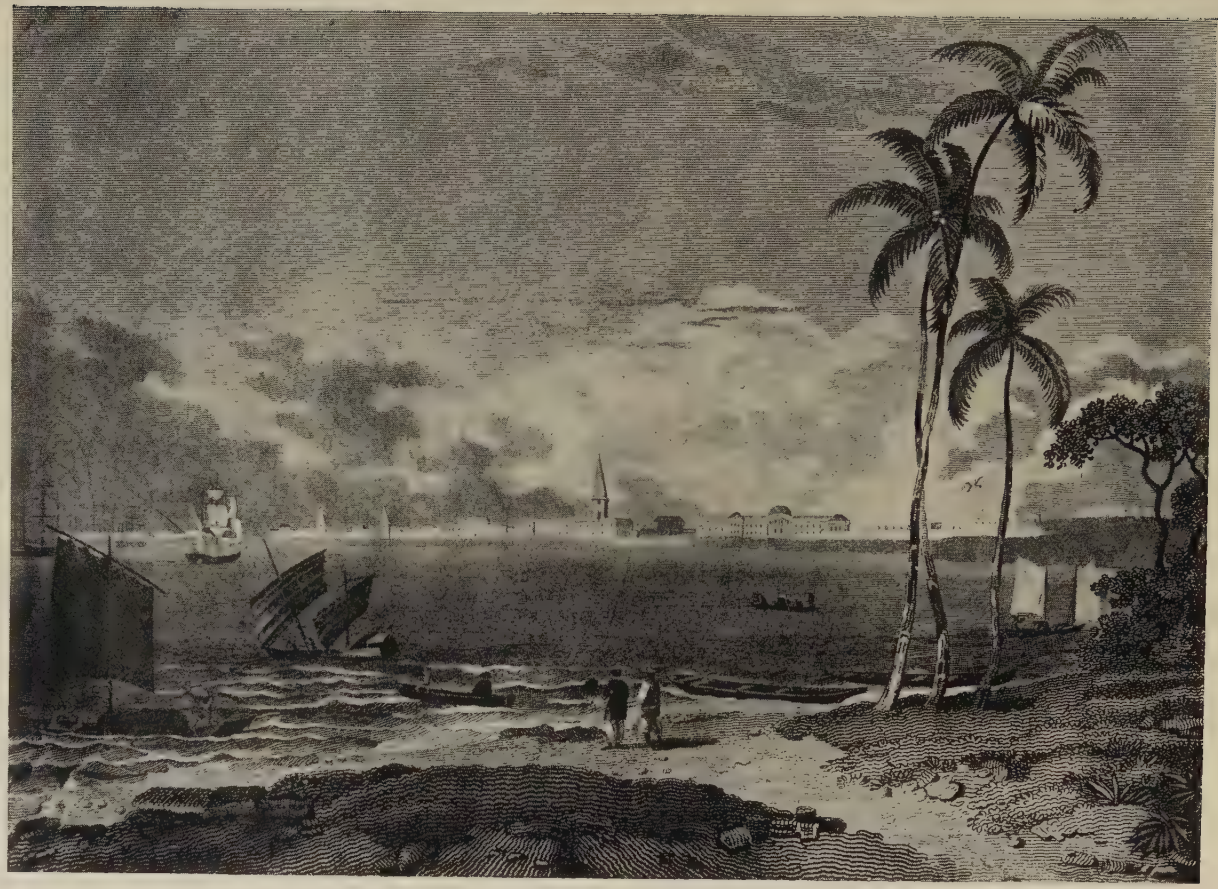
On February 25 Clive, in accordance with the urgent requests of the Nawab and his son, set forth with his small force to meet the vast host which had gathered around the standard of the Shahzada.

"They consist," Clive wrote to the Secret Committee at home, "of about 450 Europeans, and 2500 Seapoys; and with these, few as they are, I trust We shall give a good account of the Shah Zadah, tho' his army is said to be 30000 strong, provided the Nabob's people keep firm to him: and should even the contrary happen, and the Subah's Troops desert him, We shall still be able to make our party good, and to maintain our own." [1]

On the eve of his departure from Calcutta Clive received from the Shahzada an epistle, which presents a strange mixture of arrogance and flattery. Clive is entitled "The most High and Mighty, Protector of the Great," but he is told to

"pay a due obedience to this my firman, and make it your business to pay your respects to me like a faithful servant, which will be great and happy for you. It is proper you should be earnest in doing this, when, by the blessing of God, you stand high in my favour. Know this must be done."

[1] To the Honourable Secret Committee, 12 March, 1759.



AN EARLY VIEW OF CALCUTTA

(From an old Engraving)

Clive sent to the prince the following brief and dignified reply:

"I have had the honour to receive your Highness's firman. It gives me great concern to find that this country must become a scene of troubles. I beg leave to inform you that I have been favoured with a sunnud from the Emperor, appointing me a Munsubdar of the rank of six thousand foot and five thousand horse, which constitutes me a servant of his; and as I have not received any orders, either from the Emperor or Vizier, acquainting me of your coming down here, I cannot pay that due regard to your Highness's orders which I would otherwise wish to do. I must further beg leave to inform you, that I am under the strictest engagements with the present Subadar of these provinces to assist him at all times; and it is not the custom of the English nation to be guilty of insincerity."

Clive forwarded the correspondence to Meer Jaffier, and also informed him that some of the Shahzada's agents had been with him:

"They made me," he observes, "offers of provinces upon provinces, with whatever my heart could desire; but could he give, as well as offer me, the whole empire of Hindustan, it would have no weight with the English. I am well assured, too, that he wrote to every man of consequence in these parts; which convinces me that he has designs against these provinces. It is the custom of the English to treat the persons of ambassadors as sacred, and I told the Shah Zada's agents as much; but at the same time warned them never to come near me again, for, if they did, I would take their heads for their pains."

The writer continued his advance towards Murshidabad, and reached Cossimbazar on the night of March 8. Hastings writes to Clive: "I have ordered my House to be made ready for your Reception, & request your Acceptance of it during your Stay at Cossimbuzar."[1] During his short halt at the capital Clive spoke freely and severely to the Nawab regarding his weak and cruel conduct, which had quite alienated the affections of all his subjects.[2] He, however, assured him that he and all his army would fight for him to the last man, and he "complied with the Nabob's solicitation to ride on the same elephant with him." Clive had perfect confidence in himself and his small but well-disciplined band. "Indeed, the only

[1] Letter from Warren Hastings, Cossimbuzar, 8th March, at 9 P.M.
[2] Scrafton, p. 113.

danger in my opinion to be apprehended," he wrote to the Court of Directors on March 12,

"is from the disaffection among the Nabob's principal Officers, occasioned by his treachery towards, and ill-usage of them; however, in the several conferences I have had with him since my arrival here, I have so strongly painted to him the danger of such like behaviour, as cannot fail inducing him to a change of conduct for the future: and the confidence which I know the Jematdars have in the English, will, I hope, retain them in their allegiance to their Sovereign."

He added:

"We shall leave this to morrow, and I propose marching with the utmost expedition to the relief of Patna, which is in great danger of being lost, as well as the whole Province of Bahar, the Shahzadah being actually arrived at the Caramnassa, the river which parts the countries of Oud & Bahar. It is yet uncertain whether Mr. Law with his few fugitives will join him or not."

On the morrow Clive with his force advanced towards Patna and was joined on the road by a considerable portion of the Nawab's army under the command of Meeran. To reach Patna before the Shahzada arrived there was his first object. As he pushed forward by rapid marches, messages from Patna reached him. On March 15 Amyatt, the chief of the factory at Patna, wrote to him: "As a result of Ramnarain's shilly-shallying the city has been lost: he has agreed to capitulate despite my arguments. I have come away." Not hearing of Clive's advance, Amyatt and other members of the factory embarked on a number of boats which he had ready with the intention of floating some distance down the river. On March 18 he dispatched the following message to Clive: "Ramnarain has surrendered and gone out to meet the king's son who is to enter the city." [1] On the receipt of this momentous message Clive wrote to Charles Manningham, who was taking the chair at the Council in his absence: "We have nothing more to expect from Ramnarain, and it is now past a doubt that He is gone over to the King's Son." [2] Evil tidings never diminished the spirit and the confidence of Clive.

[1] Amyatt to Clive, Rouanulla, March 18th.
[2] Clive to Charles Manningham, Camp at Pialapour, 24th March, 1759.

The safety of Bengal depended on the defeat of the confederates, and with or without the aid of Ram Narain he would deal them a decisive blow. His career is a record of expeditions begun against odds, maintained vigorously, and with success in the end. He concluded his letter as follows: "I shall make a long march to morrow in order to get beyond Collgong, and as our boats came up with us yesterday, I have nothing to delay me from proceeding as fast as possible to the Enemy." His letter to Ram Narain is characteristic of the man:

"I have neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, the letter I have now received from Mr. Amyatt; nor could aught but the great confidence I have in him induce me to give credit to its contents. Have you no sense of the obligations you are under to me for all the care and pains I have taken for you? If you had not courage equal to the occasion, yet what could have induced you to act so imprudent a part? What power has the Shah Zada to resist the united forces of the Nabob and the English? Think, then, what will be your fate. For God's sake reflect on the duty you owe to your master, to my friendship, and to your own safety. Turn from this bad design, and act in such a manner that your master may be satisfied with you, and the world acknowledge you worthy of the friendship I have shown you. Should you, from want of courage, forsake your city, be assured it will not remain ten days in the Shah Zada's power."

Ram Narain had taken Clive's advice and encamped outside his city. But when the Shahzada, with an army of 40,000 men, approached within ten miles of the city, he retired within its walls and at once began to strengthen the fortifications. No sooner had he begun the work when two envoys arrived, sent by the Governor of Allahabad. No news of Clive's advance had reached him. The English had deserted their factory and the Mogul army was at his gate. Law, with his party of Frenchmen, was expected, and Ram Narain determined to come to terms with the enemy.

"It was soon agreed, that he would wait upon them, and submit to their dominion, under condition that his life, fortune and government would be held sacred and inviolable. But before he should perform his part of the agreement, he requested a paper written and

sealed by Mahmed-coliqhan, as well as signed by the principal officers of his army, as guarantees to the treaty." [1]

The ambassadors returned and brought back a treaty duly drafted and sealed by the Governor of Allahabad and signed by the chief commanders. Ram Narain now determined to pay a visit to Mohammed Kuli. The Shahzada, on hearing of the visit, " prepared a tent of as much magnificence as his circumstances could afford; and he placed a throne at the upper end of it, where he took his seat, having on both sides of him, two rows of his generals and grandees standing, and all richly apparelled. Ramnarain was ushered by the envoys into the presence," and " having been made to bow in a manner which he had never seen in his life, he advanced with limbs trembling, and lips dried up by fear, near to the throne." A nobleman of the Court laid hold of his hand, " which was full of Eshruffies,[2] and made the Shah-zada accept his nuzer and his homage." The Governor of Allahabad then spoke about his zeal and submission, and supplicated that he might be invested with a *qhylaat* or *killaut*.[3] " The prince complied with the request; and the vezir having carried Ramnarain into an adjoining tent, put the dress of honour upon him, and adorned his head with a circlet, and an aigrette, remarkable by Phœnix's feathers; such as is worn by the Imperial princes." [4] Two noblemen who had accompanied him were also invested at the same time.

" Being all dressed in that manner they all returned to the presence: but the Radja, who had always acted as a master, and who had never been subject to any constraint, was confounded at the respectful posture he was obliged to take, and at the repeated bows he was directed to make at every word spoke to him; he was overcome with heat and fatigue, and quite astonished at what he beheld. However, as soon as he returned to himself, and found time to breathe freely, and to recover from his fatigue and surprise, he doubtless reflected in his mind on that air of wretchedness and misery that pierced through all the flimsy gaudiness which was intended to dis-

[1] The Seir Mutaqherin, pp. 58–59.

[2] *Eshruffies: Ashrafi.*—Arab noble; applied to various gold coins; in India to gold mohurs.

[3] *Killut, killaut, khylut, khal'at*—the last mode of transliteration—a robe of honour.

[4] Phœnix feathers—this is the name given in Hindu to the birds of Paradise.

guise the prince's condition, and that of his famished courtiers. The misery of what was stiled the *Imperial army*, struck his senses forcibly ; and he repented heartily of his coming. It is true, he did not utter a word of all that ; but I comprehended very well his sense of it, from his humbled looks, the colour of his complexion, and from the whole cast of his features ; he wished himself gone, and out of the clutches of those famished vultures."

Ram Narain escaped by a bold stratagem. He knew that they intended to keep him as a prisoner, and on the evening of the investiture he sent a message to Mohammed Kuli that "he was going to town to refresh himself." The general answered : "You may ; I wish you a good journey." The next morning, when Ram Narain came out of his tent, he found an officer on an elephant who offered to take him to the city. Ram Narain consented ; but after having gone a few hundred paces on the elephant, "excused himself on his being, as a Gentoo, forbidden drinking water in the same place with a Mussulman ; and calling for another elephant of his own, he got on his back, and drank water ; and then pushed forwards with all the speed which fear and anxiety could give him." As soon as he got within the city Ram Narain ordered the gates to be shut and the garrison to man the ramparts. The Hindu governor was a too skilful diplomatist for the Mohammedan ruler to discover his real mind. He considered that the Hindu Rajah would never prove refractory. "Impressed with this notion, he was every day sending some new order to his new subject, with which the other complied in some shape or other." Ram Narain was willing to undergo any humiliation in order to obtain time for the relief to reach him. The Mohammedans' New Year's Day approached, and men began to wonder if the Rajah would come out of the city to do homage and present the customary offerings on that day.

"At last the new year's day came, and then Ram-narain sent to both the prince and general the number of eshruffies usual on that day, together with a vast quantity of eggs, plain, red and painted ; as well as a number of trays full of several kinds of sweetmeats and confectionary, made lozenge ways, and covered with gold and silver leaf ; but he did not move from his lodgings : he excused himself at the same time on his being entirely taken up with executing the

orders sent him ; and he likewise wrote letters of excuse to the principal grandees.",[1]

The festival of the *Now Roy* or New Year's Day was celebrated in the camp with considerable pomp, and the prince and Mohammed Kuli " spent much time in celebrating the new year's day, and in enjoying to satiety every kind of pleasure, which fine women could afford by their voices and dances." [2] They came at last, adds the writer, " to remember of politicks." They resolved that the army should move to the other side of the city, " in that part which looks Eastwards to Bengal." The high road ran through the main street of the city. Ram Narain sent word to the camp that the passage of the Imperial army, " consisting mostly of Moguls," through the streets might lead to riots and bloodshed. The confederates at his urgent request followed another route. From their new encampment Mohammed Kuli continued to send messengers to the city, who treated the Hindu governor with studied insolence. Ram Narain " kept the mask on until his time was arrived." The moment soon came. Clive's letter, written in decided terms, reached him. Impressed by it and now certain of speedy relief, he drove Mohammed Kuli's messengers out of the city, demanding " What he meant by endlessly sending his disorderly servants with haughty messages, about the accounts of Azimabad, and the expenditure of the public money ? " " I owed you," added he, " as to my superior, a visit and a present, and that ceremony I have gone through ; but that is all : for I acknowledge no master, but the Nazem of Bengal ; and if you are displeased with this message, take your party by all means." Mohammed Kuli, enraged at the message, immediately ordered the city to be stormed. Several attacks having been made and repulsed, the enemy pushed forward galleries in order to mine the walls. Mohammed Kuli himself conducted the operations against a strong tower called the Mehdeegunge. And on April 3 he ordered the pioneers to fire the mine they had constructed. Five men ventured to execute his orders. " But the wall from above,

[1] Seir Mutaqherin, p. 64. [2] *Ibid.*

having given way, smothered three or four of them; and the fifth only escaped." The enemy immediately advanced to the assault.

"The besieged, without being dismayed, were throwing on the assaulters such quantities of powder-bags and other fires and the neighbouring tower sent such a shower of bullets amongst them, that numbers that had got on the third part of the height of the breach, as well as some that had been higher, were scorched by the powder on fire, or wounded by the bullets, and they rolled down in heaps. Great numbers besides, were slain or wounded at the foot of the breach." [1]

At night the storming party returned to their trenches. The next day another assault was made with such determination that the besieged were on the point of abandoning the walls when they observed "that the besiegers were retiring of their own accord."

The next day the siege was raised. News of the greatest gravity had reached Mohammed Kuli. The English advance guard, which had marched 400 miles in twenty-three days, was within ten miles of the city. The Nawab of Oudh, who had been the chief instigator of the invasion, had taken advantage of his absence and treacherously seized his capital, Allahabad. Mohammed Kuli determined to hasten back to recover his dominions. The Shahzada pressed him not to abandon the siege, but, finding all his arguments were in vain, he also determined to retire with his force. On the first march the confederates were met by Law with his small band of Frenchmen who had hastened to take part in the siege. Law urged that they should return, and engaged to capture Patna in an hour. Mohammed Kuli, bent on regaining his capital, continued his march. On the road he was attacked by a force of the Nawab of Oudh, defeated, captured, and put to death.

On April 8 Clive, accompanied by Meeran, made his entry into Patna. Two days after he wrote to his Honourable Masters:

"We made a most extraordinary quick march, having been no more than between three and four weeks from Moorshadabad to

[1] Seir Mutaqherin, p. 76.

Patna ; but We had no time to lose, a difference of a very few days must have lost Patna, which would have been followed with the loss of the whole Province, and would have so encreased the Shahzadah's force, as to render the matter serious and the issue doubtful."

He added :

" There is nothing now left to be done but to pursue the enemy so closely that they may have no time to recover the panic with which they are seized, and so oblige them to separate. I shall therefore in conjunction with the Chuta Nabob's and Ramnarain's forces proceed as far as the Caramnassa, and hope to take such effectual measures, that the late invasion, instead of being a detriment to the Subah, may serve to fix him more firmly in his seat than ever."

Clive pursued the enemy so vigorously that he was able on April 27 to write to Forde from a camp near the Karamnasa, the streamlet which divides Bengal from Hindustan : " We have now dispersed all his followers, and he is himself in great distress wandering about with a handfull of men, not knowing whom to trust to. We are on our march to the Caramnassa, the boundary of Sujah Doulat's dominions, in order to punish such of the Rajahs as were concerned in the late troubles." The poor Shahzada had sent a letter, a sad tale of calamity, imploring the protection of Clive. Though born to a crown, " the persecution of the Vizier," he said, " had left him not a spot to rest on." Clive consulted Ram Narain, who held that it would be a source of constant intrigue and danger to have a prince of the Imperial blood in any of the three Provinces. " I have therefore answered him," Clive wrote on April 24, " that my connections with the Nabob were of so solemn a nature, as would not allow of my affording him any protection ; and on that account advised him to keep out of the way, as I was now on the point of marching to the Caramnassa." The Shahzada, however, continued to send miserable appeals, but a sanctuary could not be granted him. On April 30 Clive sent him the following final answer :

" I have received repeated orders from the Vizier, and even from the King, not only to oppose your Highness, but even to lay hold of your person. I am sorry to acquaint your Highness with these disagreeable things, but I cannot help it. Were I to assist your Highness in any respect, it would be attended with the ruin of this country.

It is better that one should suffer, however great, than that so many thousands should be rendered unhappy. I have only to recommend your Highness to the Almighty's protection. I wish to God it were in my power to assist you, but it is not. I am now on my march to the Caramnassa, and earnestly recommend it to you to withdraw before I arrive there."

After having reduced to submission the Rajput and hill chiefs, who had supported the Shahzada, Clive returned to Patna. In July, after establishing order in the city, he left a strong garrison to protect it from another invasion, and made his way back to Murshidabad, and as he passed through the streets he was "gazed at with awful respect" by the inhabitants. His daring and confidence had been crowned with complete success. The expedition had established him in the confidence of the Hindu Rajahs; it had advanced his influence among the Zemindars and in the minds of the populace. To Clive's marvellous success there seemed to belong a supernatural prestige. But the fame of Clive had extended beyond the bounds of Bengal. At the Imperial Court at Delhi his military achievements, even before Plassey, had created a profound impression. On hearing of the success of the expedition to Patna, the Vizier wrote "to the high and mighty the powerful protector," the "mighty Colonel," as follows:

"The faithful services, which you have performed, and the pains which you have taken in the late affairs, have given me great joy; nor can I sufficiently express your praises for what you have done. Continue to behave with the same fidelity; seize the rebel and send him to court. By the will of God, this service performed, the King will show you the greatest favour, and your honours shall be encreased."

He added:

"In the same manner, as your factories are settled at Calcutta, Azimabad, and Moorshedabad, send and establish a factory at the royal city."

Meer Jaffier rejoiced greatly at the result of the campaign. Clive had saved his life from being taken by his mutinous troops, and had preserved his throne from the advancing wave of invasion. But a dark fear clouded his joy. Clive had

placed the Nawab on the throne, but Meer Jaffier soon became jealous of his necessary interference in the affairs of the kingdom. He and his Mohammedan courtiers deeply resented the guarantee of safety given to the Hindu officials, and was specially wroth at the protection given to Rai Dulab and the guarantee to Ram Narain. Meer Jaffier knew that he was entirely dependent on Clive, but that did not diminish the mortification of a Sovereign. "Do you get tired of lying on one side?" asked a great Indian chief in recent years. "Yes." "So do we." The Nawab of Bengal was very tired of lying on one side. The capture of Chandernagore had upset the balance of power among the European nations in Bengal. In order to restore it Meer Jaffier began in November, 1758, regardless of his treaty, caring only to mortify the English, and to escape payment of his debts, to intrigue with the Dutch. It was arranged that a force sufficient to humiliate the English should be brought to Bengal by a powerful fleet. A great invasion followed by a great defeat, which had been Clive's exclusive work, had, however, altered the situation. Meer Jaffier was now in the utmost dread that Clive would discover his perfidy and bestow on another the crown of Bengal. He therefore made haste to mention to Hastings a matter which he had long neglected. It is, as James Mill says, a matter of considerable weight in the history of India.

When the Mogul Emperor confirmed Clive's action in placing Meer Jaffier on the throne by sending a *sunnud* or commission appointing him Nawab of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, he also sent a patent bestowing on Clive the *masnab* or rank of a commander of 6,000 horse. The literal meaning of the word *masnab* is "the place where anything is put or erected," and it then came to mean the rank held by a person according to the number of men he commanded. The lowest *masnab* was held by a commander of 20 men and the highest by a commander of 7,000 men. *Masnabs* were also subdivided into three classes, except in the case of the commanders of 6,000 and 7,000 men. There was a difference of salary attached to each rank, and there was also a difference of pay between

the three classes. The commander of 20 men of the first-class received 1,000 Rs. a year, the commander of 6,000 received 300,000 Rs., and the commander of 7,000 the more enormous sum of 350,000 Rs. The favourite mode of paying these large sums was by an assignment of the land revenue of a certain number of villages or of a subdivision. The assignment, except in the case of great noblemen around the Court, was made on the most distant and most powerfully subdued provinces.[1] A *jaghirdar* was the person to whom the assignment was made, and the revenue assigned from the land was called a *jaghire* from the Persian "*ja* or *jar*, a place or position, and *gir*, taking or occupying."[2] The bestowal of a *masnab* or command of a certain number of horse, even when an emolument was attached to it either in cash or revenue, did not necessarily imply the performance of some public service as the levy and maintenance of troops. But it did imply that the *jaghirdar* was a subject or servant of the State. The Mogul Emperor or his vizier was no doubt anxious that the victorious Clive, who had put a monarch on the throne of Bengal, should by accepting the *masnab* make a definite acknowledgment that he was a servant of the Mogul Emperor. The cardinal factor in Clive's policy was that the Company should hold their territory directly from the Mogul Emperor and not through a viceroy of the Great Mogul. By being appointed a commander of 6,000 horse, Clive became not merely a noble or *omrah* of the Empire, as it has often been stated, but one of the great nobles or pillars of the State.

When the envoys from the Imperial Court brought, in April, 1758, the patent conferring on Clive the *masnab* of 6,000 horse, Clive, in a letter to Amyatt, objected to paying the enormous fee demanded on the ground that he had not as yet received the customary *jaghire* attached to the office. He, however, desired Amyatt to give the Imperial envoy the *nazar* or offering paid to the Emperor by a noble on succeeding

[1] "The Army of the Indian Moghuls," by William Irvine, p. 15.
[2] Glossary—Persian Correspondence.

to that office. Nine months passed. Clive took no further action in the matter for many months. On January 31, 1759, he, however, wrote to the Seths thus:

"I always understood, that when you had procured me the sunnod for a 6,000 munsub and 5,000 horse, with the title of Zubit al Mulk Nazier ad Doula,[1] that the Nabob would have favoured me with a jaguire, equal to the rank I received by my sunnod; but to this day I have not heard a word from him concerning it. As this is an affair of my own, I have not chose to address the Nabob thereon now. As there is a strong friendship subsisting between you and me, I beg leave to give you the trouble to apply to the Nabob concerning this affair, and that I may have a jaguire equal to my rank."

A month passed and no reply was sent. On the eve of their departure from Murshidabad on their supposed pilgrimage the Seths heard the unwelcome news that Clive, who swept all before him, was advancing to resist the invasion they had instigated. If their treachery were discovered he would exact a severe penalty. In order to lull suspicion and conciliate him, they caught at the first opportunity to mention the neglected request. Hastings, writing to Clive on February 16, mentioned that he had that morning taken leave of the Seths at their first encampment, and that they both had for some days past behaved with unusual civility to him.

"About Three Days ago I rec'd a visit from Juggutseat, who by his discourse seemed as if he apprehended some Suspicions on our part with Respect to the real Motive of his Journey. He said he should not leave the Country at a time like this, but that he had so long prepared for his intended Pilgrimage, & had put away the greatest part of his Effects before the News of the impending troubles first arrived; but that he should certainly return in a month and an half, unless there should be a necessity for his going on to Patna, for which this Journey would be very convenient, as Parsnaut lies partly in the way thither. He said that he had wrote to the Court for an Order for your Jagueer, and had met with success, but that he believed it would be necessary to finish this negociation at Patna, which would be one Motive likewise for his going there. I am not sure that I clearly understood him in this last particular, but this I believe was the purport of what he said."

This letter reached Clive on the 19th, and the next day he received the following communication from the Seths:

[1] Administrator of the Kingdom and Overseer of the Empire.

"Your two obliging letters, one answering ours which accompanied some apples to you; the other, that you understood when we had procured you a munsub and titles, that the Nabob would have favoured you with a jaguire, equal to the rank you received by your sunnod, but that to the writing of your letter, you had not heard from him concerning it; that on account of the friendship subsisting between us, you desired we would apply to the Nabob and procure it, we have with great pleasure received, and are rejoiced to hear you are in good health, for which we return God thanks; Agreeable to your orders, we addressed the Nabob to give you a jaguire; he has long determined not to grant jaguires in the subahship of Bengal; Orissa is poor, but if it is agreeable to you to have one in the subahship of Bahar, it will be immediately granted you; of this I thought proper to advise you. Please to acquaint us with your resolution on this affair. We are going to a place of devotion with all our family in a day or two, accompanied by some of the Nabob's forces. By the favour of God we hope to return in six weeks."

The Seths were to a considerable degree cynical in offering Clive the quit-rent of an estate situated in a border province over which the Nawab had least control, and was now on the point of being invaded by a formidable army. Their answer was, as Clive ten years later told the House of Commons, "an evasive one." He never wrote or thought more on the subject until he received the following letter from the Seths on June 4:

"Some time ago we were favoured with an obliging letter from you to this purport, that you had been honoured with a munsub, of the rank of 6000, and the command of 5000 horse from the presence; and that we, who are your faithful servants, had procured you the sunnod, but that as yet no jaguir had been granted for the same, and desiring that we would address the Nabob as we thought proper on that affair, and procure the jaguire, which would give you satisfaction.—Agreeable to your orders we often reminded him of it, and he himself was contriving about it; we have lately addressed him again, and he informs us, that he has pitched on a place for your jaguire in the subahship of Bengal; and by the blessing, when you return to this city, an account thereof will be delivered to you."

The nature of the estate, "where or what value it was to be," was, as Clive told the House of Commons, carefully concealed. The Seths were anxious that a suggestion they had made to the Nawab should not be subject to criticism and objection before it was carried into effect. They had pro-

posed to him that the quit-rent paid by the Company to the Nawab for the district around Calcutta should be paid to Clive as the customary emolument of the high office to which the Mogul Emperor had appointed him. The Nawab promptly adopted the suggestion. He was so heavily in debt to the Company that he was certain that he would never receive in cash the rent. The Mogul Emperor had bestowed a title of nobility on Clive, and by the Mogul constitution an estate to support the title had to be found in Bengal to be granted to Clive. It was a clever act of diplomacy for the Nawab, after he had received full accounts of the flight of the Shahzada and the complete success of Clive's expedition, to state that he felt urged by a sense of gratitude to settle the question of the *jaghire*. Hastings at the close of a letter to Clive, dated April 24, says :

" He (the Nabob) expresses the most grateful sense of the services which you have performed for him, and declared to me his resolution to use every means in his power to procure an order from the Court for your jaghire, being ashamed that you should do so much for him without the prospect of reaping any advantage to yourself by it."

The Nawab had already authorised the Seths to state that he would immediately grant a *jaghire* in Bengal, and there was no mention of procuring an order from the Imperial Court.

At the close of June, when Clive was approaching Murshidabad on his return from Patna, the Nawab took advantage of an interview with Mr. Sykes, who was acting as Resident for Hastings, to dwell on the great service that Clive had rendered him by the defeat of the Shahzada.

" He mentioned also," Sykes told the House of Commons, " that he owed his government to Colonel Clive before, and this was the second time he was indebted to him for it ; that he had been a means of having honours conferred on Colonel Clive, in creating him an Omrah of the empire, but that he had given him nothing to support those honours ; he had frequently had it in his thoughts, but had never entered upon it seriously till now ; that he had had thoughts of giving him a Jaghire in the Patna province, but found it would be attended with inconvenience to the officers of his government, and that Juggutseat had fallen upon a method of obviating those difficulties, by giving him the quit rent arising from the lands ceded to

the Company to the Southward of Calcutta ; that he thought it would interfere the least with his government, and stood the clearest in relation to the Company's affairs."

Sykes further informed the Committee of the House that the Nawab requested that he would inform him

" when he heard of the Colonel's coming down the country, and in the mean time he would prepare an instrument called the Jaghire ; that he would give the Colonel the meeting, and desired the witness's attendance at the time it was to be presented ; that the witness did attend him, in company with Jugutseat and other persons, and met the Colonel two miles to the north of the city, when, after some conversation betwixt the Nabob and Colonel Clive, the Nabob retired, and Juggutseat, in the presence of the witness, and he thinks of Mr. Scrafton, presented him, from the Nabob, with the Jaghire."

Sykes, being further asked whether he conceived the instrument delivered by "Juggutseat" to Lord Clive to be the Diwan's *sunnud*, or an order from the Nabob to the Company to pay the quit-rent, said: " Whether it was one or the other he could not answer ; that he only saw it inclosed in a silken bag, and it was not opened at the time it was presented to Colonel Clive, and he never saw it opened." Clive in his evidence declared on his honour, " when the Nabob presented him the Jaghire he did not know what that Jaghire was, had not the least idea of the amount of it, nor of its being the quit-rent upon the Company's lands ; and that he did believe the Nabob gave him that Jaghire in consequence of the services he had rendered him, which have been stated by Mr. Sykes." Clive being asked on whose application he was made an *Omrah*, said : " At Meer Jaffier's ; but he applied to Meer Jaffier to make the application to the Mogul." Immediately following this statement we find this most important passage in the Report from the Select Committee :

" Some days after this evidence was given, Lord Clive acquainted the Committee, That upon recollection he finds he was mistaken in the answer he made to the above question, and his answer to it now is, ' By Meer Jaffier's to the Mogul, and without any application on his Lordship's part.' "

Soon after receiving the *purwannah*, or document assigning the quit-rent, Clive proceeded from Murshidabad to Calcutta.[1] On September 5 the *purwannah*, with a translation by Hastings, was sent by the Council at Calcutta. In December the Court of Directors was advised of the grant made to Clive and a copy of the *purwannah* sent to them. "In consequence of which," the Bengal Government wrote, "we have paid to Colonel Clive what was before paid the Subah, and shall continue in future to account with him instead of the Government." The Court of Directors did not at the time raise any objection to the transaction. It created the singular position of Clive being the feudal superior of his own masters, but this was preferable to the feudal superiority of the Nawab over the Company's territory. The Nawab's superiority had already created considerable friction. He had used it as an instrument for obtaining large loans, and, what was more important, he had exercised certain rights in the administration of the territory which the feudal superiority gave him. The policy of the Nawab was by an alliance with the French and the Dutch to force the British to renounce all their pecuniary and territorial claims. The policy of Clive was to free the Company from all pecuniary and territorial claims of the Nawab. It is evident from the subsequent conduct of the Court of Directors that some of them, in giving their sanction to the transaction, were influenced by the idea that, when an opportune moment came, it would be easier and simpler to cease paying the rent to Clive or his successor than to the Sovereign of Bengal.

Lord Macaulay, who questioned the propriety, politically and economically, of Clive's acceptance of the pecuniary reward bestowed on him by Meer Jaffier after Plassey, considered his acceptance of the *jaghire* proper. He writes: "This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the Com-

[1] Select Committee, 29th June, 1759; Charles Manningham, President. Letter from Colonel Clive advising his arrival at Muxadabad and expectation of reaching Calcutta in a few days.

pany itself was his tenant, and by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant."

It was not a present. It was the fixed emolument of the high office and title bestowed on him by the Mogul Emperor for great service rendered to the Mogul Empire. The *jaghire*, as Macaulay states, could from its very nature be no secret, but he loses sight of the fact that Clive made no secret of the gifts made to him by Meer Jaffier after Plassey.[1] The Company's recognition was extended equally to both. "The grant," as Mill states, "amounted to the enormous sum of £30,000 per annum." But neither Mill nor any other writer has noticed the fact that it was the exact pay of the office bestowed on Clive. The yearly pay of a *Mansabidar* of 6,000 horse was 300,000 rupees, or £30,000. Macaulay does not grapple with prosaic details, but deals with broad generalisations, and touches what may be called obvious moralities :

> "Nothing is more clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government, and of no other. It follows that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government, or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest bauble, with respect to a cross, a medal, or a yard of coloured riband. But how can any government be well served, if those who command its forces are at liberty, without its permission, without its privity, to accept princely fortunes from its allies ?"

Clive was the servant not of a government, but of a trading company who paid their servants salaries on which they could not possibly exist, because they permitted them to add to their pittance by embarking in private trade and accepting large rewards from the native chiefs. The magnitude of the sums has coloured the judgment on the transactions. But they are small when compared with the enormous salaries the Mogul Emperor allowed his governors. The English after

[1] Macaulay, writing about these gifts, states: "Though Clive did not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place, and request their sanction, he did not, on the other hand, by studied concealment, show that he was conscious of having done wrong." Clive most distinctly acquainted the Chairman of the Court with what had taken place.

Plassey maintained the custom of their predecessors. In 1765 the salary of one of the native *naibs* or deputies under the British Government was £90,000, two others got £20,000, and one got £10,000. At that time a Member of Council was paid 300 rupees a month, and Warren Hastings got 30 rupees extra for reading prayers. It was Clive who foresaw the evil of a system which brought on the subsequent acts of oppression and corruption, and it was in vain that he urged upon the Court of Directors that the only remedy lay in allowing liberal salaries and the abolition of private trade and all perquisites and emoluments.

Regarding the *jaghire* transaction there is not the faintest trace of oppression or corruption. The £30,000 a year was not, as it has often been stated, the gift of a grateful Nawab. It was the customary income attached to the " most Noble Title " and office bestowed upon Clive by the Mogul Emperor for great services rendered in crushing the rebellion of his son and restoring peace to one of the greatest provinces of the Mogul Empire. By the constitution of the Mogul Government the Nawab of Bengal was bound to find the annual income.

Soon after Clive's return to Calcutta from his expedition against the Shahzada a new and unexpected danger arose. News reached him that the Dutch were fitting out and embarking at Batavia a powerful armament. Its destination was not known, but it was rumoured to be for Bengal. On July 21 he sent a letter to Meer Jaffier through Warren Hastings, who replied on the 25th as follows :

" I waited on the Nabob last night with your Letter & acquainted him with the Armament set on Foot at Batavia & with your Advice to him on that Head. He replied that Cuttac was not properly under his Jurrisdiction, but that he would take effectual care to guard the passes of Midnapoor (beyond which country his Authority did not extend) in case the Dutch should attempt to come by that Quarter ; And that he would give orders to Ameerbeg to follow such Directions as he should receive from you in order to obstruct their Entrance by the way of Ingallee.

" The Nabob seemed to be of Opinion that it was very probable the Dutch had formed Some design against this Province, adding

as a Confirmation of his suspicion that they had applied to him Some time ago for a Dustick to bring a Quantity of Salt Petre from the Province of Oud, in order to supply the Deficiency of their Investment at Patna. This the Nabob thought it prudent to refuse them. But he has Since learnt that they had obtain'd Suja Dowlut's Consent for the establishment of a Factory in that Province, & entered into other Engagements with him ; And that they sent him a Mezeranna to a Considerable Amount about 3 months ago, in Money, Broad Cloth & other valuable Commodities—What further design they may have in this step does not appear, but as I believe there is no passage from Suja Dowlut's Territories, except by the Ganges, it can hardly be practicable for them to Carry on any Trade from thence without Opening a Way thro' Bengal, which has been positively denied them by the Nabob, unless they have thoughts of Effecting it by Force."

The Nawab had countenanced an intrigue with the Dutch, but the recent decisive success of the British made him cautious. On August 4 Hastings wrote to Clive :

" I forgot to inform you before that when I told the Nabob of the News of the Armament sent from Batavia, he declared to me that he would send to the Dutch & acquaint them that if they brought any armed Forces into his Country he would look upon them as Enemies, & treat them accordingly. This purpose he informs me he has since put in Execution."

The Nawab sent a *purwannah* to the Dutch Governor forbidding the Dutch to bring any troops into his country. He forwarded a copy to Clive, and at the same time demanded that Clive, by virtue of the treaty subsisting with the English troops, should join his forces in repelling any invaders. Early in August a Dutch ship arrived in the river with European troops and *Buggoses*, mercenary soldiers from the Malay Peninsula.[1] Clive at once informed Meer Jaffier, who was greatly embarrassed at the news. He, however, sent another written command to the Dutch and ordered the Military Governor of Hugli to join Clive with a body of troops. He also repeated his demand of assistance from the Company :

" To the Nawab's first purwannah the Dutch sent a reply and solemn promise of obedience to his orders ; to the second, they as solemnly assured him the ship which was arrived came in by accident for water and provisions ; that she was drove from her destined port

[1] " A Narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal," drawn up in November either by Clive himself or by Strachey.

of Nagapatam by stress of weather, and that she and her troops should leave the river as soon as they were supplied." [1]

Clive, however, in spite of these solemn assurances, considered it advisable to post troops at Jannoki Fort and Charnock Battery on the other side of the river, with orders to search all boats and vessels that passed up the river without giving them further molestation. The Dutch authorities remonstrated vigorously, and Clive and his Council replied

"that, as principals, we had, by the custom and laws of nations, a right to search all vessels whatever, advancing up this river, not knowing but they might introduce French troops into the country; and that as auxiliaries to the Mogul, we were under a necessity, by solemn treaty, to join his Viceroy in opposing the introduction of any European or foreign troops whatever into Bengal; and that we should absolutely and religiously do our duty to the utmost of our strength and power in both capacities."

The Dutch vessel departed, and friendly relations were resumed with the authorities at Chinsura. September passed; no news was heard of the Dutch armament, and there was that delusive sign, so common in Eastern lands, of all being quiet.

Clive was now most anxious to return to England. The constant strenuous work, the grave responsibilities which had rested on him ever since he landed at Calcutta, and the climate of Bengal had told severely on his health. The cruel malady, which had tormented him all his life, again threatened him. A dispatch from the Court caused him to boil with resentment, and he decided that by returning to England he would be better able to procure the adoption of the measures which he considered necessary for the prosperity and security of the country to whose welfare his life was entirely devoted. The dispatch which excited Clive's resentment was dated March 23, 1759, and it announced that the Court had annulled the appointment of Colonel Forde to the Bengal command, and had appointed Colonel Eyre Coote to it. The dispatch stated that "the great advantages and benefit that must arise to us by connecting the King's and our own forces under one commander is obvious, and leave no room to employ Colonel Forde." The

[1] "A Narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal."

General Letter also informed the Bengal Government that they were not again to appoint to a temporary vacancy in the chief command of the forces in Bengal, but to leave the choice, should a vacancy occur, to Stringer Lawrence, who commanded the Madras troops. Clive objected to the dispatch both on public and private grounds. He considered that the appointment of Eyre Coote, a King's officer, was a surrender to the pretensions of the officers of the Royal service who refused to recognise that the commissions of the Company gave any valid rank. They also refused to recognise any authority except that of the Crown. Clive remembered that the pretensions of Colonel Adlercron had seriously endangered the success of the expedition sent to recover Bengal. He held, and rightly held, that the Governors of the three Presidencies should be vested with supreme authority over both civil and military affairs. Eyre Coote had been the junior of Forde in Adlercron's regiment, and he considered that Forde having joined the Company's service should have been no bar to his being elevated to the station of Commander-in-Chief. He also considered that Eyre Coote was not fit to hold an office of so serious and important a nature which involved so much responsibility.

Eyre Coote's failure in the expedition against Law, his interference in political matters, his keen desire to embark in trade, had created in Clive's memory a strong prejudice against him. When Clive was about to start on his first expedition to Patna, Eyre Coote volunteered his services, and Clive wrote as follows:

French Gardens,
Nov. 17*th* 1757.

Sir,—I return you many thanks for the Offer you made of your Service on the present Expedition, which will be a lasting proof of your Zeal and attachment for the Companys Interest. It would give me a real pleasure if I could accept of it without giving Umbrage to the Companys Officers, which of consequence must prove hurtful to the Service.

I am Sir
Your most Obedient humble Servant
Robt. Clive.

To Eyre Coote Esqr.

Eyre Coote had received the local brevet rank of major, and as the battalions were commanded by captains, he would have superseded them, though they were men of long service. Eyre Coote was a vigorous champion of the rights, privileges, and rank of a Royal officer. Clive, though he now held the King's commission, had won his glory in the Company's army, and it was only natural and right that he should guard its officers from supersession, and from losing the power and opportunity of winning honest fame. Coote's regiment had been recalled to England, and at the close of 1757 he left India. As a senior King's officer who was present at the great victory which excited the enthusiasm of the nation, his reception in England was all that his vanity and ambition could crave. Owing to his account of the Plassey campaign the belief arose that it was Eyre Coote and not Clive to whom the credit must be given for the victory, and the belief was current until it was shattered by Eyre Coote's own evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.

Eyre Coote returned to England with a small fortune. He was well born, he had, a comrade states, "a fascinating mien," and he soon became popular in general society. Leading men of letters sought his acquaintance, and prominent statesmen showed him marked attention. The Court of Directors received him with distinction, and he became an intimate friend of Lawrence Sulivan, the chairman. He attracted the notice of William Pitt, who sanctioned the raising of a regiment under his command for service in India. On January 20, 1759, Eyre Coote was gazetted Colonel of the 84th Regiment, the rank assigned to the newly raised corps. The Court of Directors appointed him commander of the Bengal forces with the option of remaining in Madras if he considered it necessary. Eyre Coote with his regiment sailed at once with two men-of-war and a convoy of East Indiamen. About the close of July five companies of the 84th landed at Madras, and on

"27th October 1759, Between 8 and 9 o'clock the evening anchored in the Road His Majesty's Ship *Queenborough* also the

Hon'ble Company's Ships *Ajax*, *Stormont* and *Houghton* with Colonel Coote and the remainder of his Battalion on board." [1]

The official intimation of Eyre Coote's appointment reached Calcutta in August. On the 20th Clive wrote to Vansittart that "the expected Reinforcements both of Ships & Men will in My Opinion put Bengal out of all other danger but that of Corruption & Venality." He added:

"All things considered my design is to get with the utmost expedition to England for which purpose I am particularly desirous of having the *Royal George* sent here that I may run thro', supposing I set out in January I may Arrive the beginning of May, and an Answer to my proposals may come to hand by the latter end of the same Year, my intentions are to get you fixt in this Governm^{t} & to have Forde & Caillaud at the head of the Military & if possible prevail upon the Directors (for it entirely depends upon them) to apply to his Majesty for Commissions of Major Generals for the Governors for the time being of the three Presidencys, if my Interest prevails I flatter myself I shall have rendered the Company more Service by my return to England than by my stay in Bengal, if not, I shall be very glad to have quitted the Service, if a Peace sho^{d} be upon the Tapis I may be of some use likewise for convinced I am the Directors are not Masters sufficiently of the Subject & will probably conclude a peace in Europe which cannot possibly be abided by in the East Indies. I have mentioned nothing more of my intentions to Mr. Pigot than getting him the Rank of a Major General, this will I hope induce him to send the *Royal George*, in which I Persuade myself your Interest will not be wanting."

On the following day he informed Pigot that they had given orders to Forde to return to Bengal, and four days after he wrote to Forde:

"I can easily conceive such Rank & honor bestowed (I think I may say without flattery) on one so much your inferior in every Respect, must give you much concern, I assure you it has affected me greatly and is one of my principal motives for wanting to push home with the utmost Expedition on the *Royal George*, I flatter myself the Request I have to make will not be denyed me, which is that you will stay in Bengal all next Year, provided Coote remains on the Coast, if within that time I do not get you a Colonel or a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission and an Appointment of Commander in Chief of all the Forces in India I will from that Instant decline all further transactions with Directors & East India Affairs, if I leave

[1] "Selections from the Madras Records," edited by G. W. Forrest.

this Place the beginning of Jan^{y} I shall certainly reach England some time in June and an answer to my solicitations may be rec^{d} in Oct^{r} or Nov^{r} the *Diligent* left this Place in Sept^{r} with the News of Placis and the *Pitt* bro^{t} us an Acc^{t} of her Arrival in August, my views in going home extend still farther, which are to get Vansittart appointed my Successor, for sure I am there is not one person besides himself capable of bringing so great and glorious a Government to perfection.

If there sho^{d} be a peace I conclude your stay in India will neither be agreeable to the Company or yourself, but if the War continues I do not despair of hearing your reputation is still further confirmed by the Capture of Pondichery."

The defects of Eyre Coote were just of that kind that would be most irritating to the eye of Clive. He was wayward and capricious, always dissatisfied with the amount of his allowances, and so full of crotchets that it was a hard matter, as Warren Hastings and the Madras Government discovered, to deal with him.[1] Clive had then had no opportunity of discovering that Eyre Coote was a consummate master of the art of War.

Forde, on hearing of his supersession, wrote to the Madras Government on October 8:

"As the Directors have not approved of the transactions of the Gentlemen of Bengal with regard to me, I now find myself at liberty to resign the service and shall take my passage to Bengal on the *Leopard* and from thence to Europe by the first opportunity. I have delivered to Cap^{t} Tryon the letters brought by Cap^{t} Barclay, and the rice and wheat I have sold here and given credit for it in the paymaster's account. I should not have taken the liberty to detain the *Leopard* were I not empowered so to do by the Gentlemen of Bengal."

On the 15th Forde, accompanied by Knox, sailed from Masulipatam, and it was well that he detained the *Leopard*, snow, for his presence was urgently needed in Bengal.

[1] Warren Hastings wrote: "I have avoided every kind of interference in the military department, even to private recommendations, and endeavoured by every mark of public attention and personal kindness to secure his confidence. My letters have been all friendly to him, his to me all petulant and suspicious; I know not why or for what." Josias Du Pre, Governor of Madras, wrote: "They send Us out an Officer (Eyre Coote) as Commander in Chief who, when he was in India before, Quarrelled continually with both Presidencys where he served. They raise his Ideas of his own Importance, give him undefined powers, and here he comes, sets himself above Controul, quarrells with Us, and throws every thing into Confusion; and now he is gone to Bengal, where, my word for it, if they do not let him rule and do as he pleases, they will not be long in peace with him."

On October 3 the Select Committee at Calcutta received a letter from Madras stating "that the Dutch force of 500 Europeans and 1,000 Malays is evidently intended for Bengal." On October 6 they received another letter from Fort St. George, dated the 10th ultimo, "advising of the Dutch being at Negapatam." Soon after seven Dutch ships, "crammed with soldiers," says Clive, appeared at the mouth of the Hugli. Meer Jaffier was then at Calcutta on a visit to Clive. He had invited the Dutch, but on hearing of their arrival he assumed an Oriental air of indifference which Western diplomats cannot imitate with success. He would go at once, he declared, to the town of Hugli. He would compel the Dutch to send away their ships and troops, or drive them out of the province. He departed, but he did not go to Hugli. Warren Hastings wrote to Clive:

"Every Day's Transactions confirm me more & more in the Opinion that the Nabob is acting a treacherous Part with you. His Agreement with you was to send for the Dutch when he came to Hughley, & offer them the Terms which you had consented to, which if they accepted & dismissed their Ships with the Forces newly arrived, he would depart to the City, but if they hesitated at his Proposals, he would instantly send for Forces from Murshedabad & never leave them till he had driven them out of the Country. How different his Real Sentiments are from this Declaration has I think evidently appeared from his Behavior to the Dutch since his Arrival here. Yesterday was the Time first appointed for the Interview with the Dutch, but Deferred for fear of disobliging them, there not having been provided A number of Kallaats sufficient for the whole Company that was to wait upon him. This Evening the Visit was made in great Form & state. The Persons who formed the Procession where Mr. Vernett with four of the Council, four Officers, Two Dewans & the Vackeel preceded by an hundred Soldiers, An hundred & Eight Seepys, & a Multitude of Burgundasses And Peons following in the Rear. The Nabob received them very graciously seated on a Chair & embraced the five Gentlemen, whilst Seeboo bobboo stand[g] behind him, acquainted him with the Name of each as they approached, together with their several Appointments. Little Conversation passed between them except Compliments, the Nabobs telling them to carry on their Business as formerly, & promising them upon every Occasion his Favor & protection. To Mr. Vernett he gave a Dress & Sirpache, to the other Gentlemen of the Council, the Officers, Dewans & Vackeel he gave each a Dress, & dismissed them desiring them to come again in the Morning, when he would confer with them in private." [1]

[1] Powis MSS.

Clive was not surprised by Hastings' letter. He had a suspicion that the Dutch had the Nawab's consent to bring up their troops. As was his wont, he took an immediate resolution; he determined to bar their passage by land or water. He sent detachments to reinforce Tantia Fort and Charnock Battery, mounted heavy cannon on them, and dispatched orders to the only three Indiamen in the river—the *Calcutta*, Captain Wilson, the *Duke of Dover*, Captain Forester, and the *Hardwicke*, Captain Sampson—to follow up the Dutch vessels to Fort William. He also planted heavy cannon on the newly erected face of the fort. He put the militia under arms and recalled the troops from Patna. At the beginning of November the *Leopard*, snow, sailed up the river with Forde and Knox on board. Clive placed Knox in command of the Tanna and Charnock batteries. Forde, though he had retired from the service, "most obligingly and readily at the Governor's request took upon him the command of the remaining troops in the garrison." Holwell, who had just returned from England, was ordered to take charge of Fort William with the militia, consisting of about 250 Europeans besides some of the Portuguese inhabitants. Clive divided "his attention and presence between both divisions, those at Charnock and those in the field." [1]

During this period the Dutch sent a long memorandum to Clive and the Council recapitulating their grievances and threatening reprisals if the English persisted in searching their boats and obstructing the advance of their troops up the river. The Bengal Government replied that they had never insulted their colours or attacked, or touched, their property, or infringed their privileges. With respect to bringing troops into Bengal, their advance had been opposed "by orders from the Viceroy, and under the Emperor his master's colours, and by his troops; that they must apply therefore to him, and that we were ready to interpose our friendly offices to mitigate his resentment." "This, it may be thought," says Clive, "savoured a little of audacity." It certainly

[1] "A Narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal."

enraged the Dutch. They seized seven small English vessels lying near the mouth of the river, made prisoners of the captains and officers, and transferred the guns and stores to their own ships. They then landed troops at Falta and Rajapore. They tore down the British colours and burnt the houses and effects of the Company's tenants.

Clive's position was one of extreme delicacy and responsibility. If the Dutch ships persisted in passing the batteries, would he be justified in commencing hostilities against an ally of England? "In this situation," says Clive, "we anxiously wished the next hour would bring us news of a declaration of war with Holland; which we had some reason to expect by our last advises from England." The outrages decided him. Believing that the Dutch would not have dared to be guilty of them unless they had heard of a rupture between the two nations, or that the Nawab had promised to join them or remain neutral, he determined at once to take action. He first wrote to the Nawab and informed him of the outrages. The Dutch, he added, had commenced actual war. He did not wish the Nawab to send his son or any part of his army to the assistance of the British. But if he wanted to "show his sincerity and attachment," he should surround their subordinate establishments "and distress them in the country to the utmost."

Meanwhile Bisdom, the Director of Chinsura, had written to the Nawab several letters. In the first he states:

"Our settlement was established here long before the English and other nations entered this kingdom, of which we were eye witnesses: Our power was then greater as well as our trade, but now we perceive, that both our power, interest, and wealth, are lost, whilst that of other nations daily increase: In this case, what recourse have we left? Our dishonour and shame is almost inevitable.

For this reason, and for the security of our possessions, as well as for the service of your excellency, I have sent for troops into this country: You are our master and sovereign; and therefore I hope for your protection, and wait your orders to bring our troops to this place."

In the second letter Bisdom expresses extreme surprise that the Nawab during his stay at Calcutta had entered into

an agreement to fortify Fort Tanna and had given a note to the English directing them to oppose the coming up of their army.

"All these things considered, it seems plain to us, that your excellency did not enter into the agreement, or gave this order from any ill opinion of us; but it is all to be imputed to the overbearing spirit of the English: But if any one enters into an agreement through force or distress, and afterwards does not abide by it, he will stand justified by the laws of God and man; particularly the Governor of a kingdom, who wishes for nothing else but the good of his country, and the prosperity of his people.

I am therefore in hopes, through your justice and favour that you will recede from your agreement and order, and that we shall obtain an order from your excellency, for the bringing up of our army; and also, that a positive order may be given to the English, on no account to molest them, for we sent for the said army to this country, in consequence of your directions."

Meer Jaffier was not pleased at being reminded that he had invited the Dutch force, and we find the following from Bisdom:

"The wrathful letter you wrote to me I have received, and it has given me inexpressible uneasiness:—The troops were not called here at my own desire, nor did I imagine they would ever have come to action, and fully intended to have returned them by the ships when they sailed for Europe;—They were brought here for the security of the ships: This I acquainted your excellency of several times.—During their stay in camp they molested no man, nor had any disturbances with the country people; this also you are well assured of.—It was never my intention they should fight; but the English hoisted Moors colours, and immediately came down upon them, and a battle ensued. Your excellency is the magistrate of justice, and therefore I desire you will interfere:—I was desirous that some advantage should arise to the riots from the sale of the goods when they were brought up, and intended to have laden on board the ships the salt petre and other goods that were bought, and with the people that came here, dispatched them to Europe; but the English would not permit the boats to pass:—I am willing to act up to our agreement, and hope your excellency will adhere to it also: In this we entirely depend on your favour. The Company have for a long time carried on trade here; and therefore earnestly desire you will continue to them your favour and protection, as we are not able of ourselves to root out our enemies."

On November 16[1] Forde left Calcutta and marched to

[1] Not the 19th, as printed in Malcolm.

Chitapur and thence sent a strong detachment to take possession of the house of the Dutch Company at Barnagore. On the 18th Bisdom and the Dutch Council wrote to "Robert Clive Esq., colonel of his Britannic Majesty's forces, and governor, for the English East India company, in Bengal; and to the gentlemen of the council," as follows:

"We have received, with the utmost surprize, the disagreeable news, that some of your European dependants, accompanied by one hundred and fifty sepoys, came this morning to Barnagore, and demanded the keys of our company's house there, and afterwards hoisted thereon the English flag."

They demanded that they might be informed immediately

"whether you are resolved to declare war against us; or, without previous declaration, commence it; and besides, in consequence of this, that you acquaint us, as soon as possible, whether the aforesaid troops were authorized by you to so hostile a conduct; and whether or no they are to proceed farther by your orders."

The next day the Dutch dispatched a second letter in which they stated that they

"had the fresh mortification, not without the greatest surprize, to see ourselves insulted, in an hostile manner, by your dependants, supported by some sepoys: as, in coming down the river, they had the assurance, within sight and reach of our forts, to fire sharp shot on our vessels lying here at anchor."

After expressing a decided opinion "that these acts of violence have been done by your orders," they proceeded most politely to state that

"we doubt not you will readily and naturally judge that it cannot be taken amiss of us, or in the least misconstrued, if we now inform you, that we have been constrained to recede, in this case, from our wonted moderation, and with force to repel such disturbers of the peace; having found by experience there was no dealing with such persons without employing the like compulsory means."

The letter concluded in an unctuous strain:

"We seek and aim at nothing else, as we have already mentioned in our former letter, than under the blessing of heaven, to defend ourselves against all hostile attacks and acts of violence whatever; and to do nothing in our present circumstances, but what may stand

justified in the sight both of God and man; and what the interests of the settlements, rights, and privileges, entrusted to our care, by our lords and masters, may require at our hands."

Meanwhile, the Dutch ships kept moving up the river with their captures and prisoners.[1]

On November 21 the Dutch vessels cast anchor "in the offing of Sankeral, a point within cannon-shot of the English batteries." On the 22nd they landed on the opposite shore 700 Europeans and about 800 Buggoses, "and dropped down with their ships to Melancholy Point, the lower end of the reach, being near where our three ships lay." [2] The same day Captain Wilson, who commanded the *Calcutta*, wrote to the Dutch commodore "that he was surprized to hear their troops had debarked on the territory of the English company, without permission obtained from the governor and council at Fort William." He assured him, if he ventured to land a single man more, he should construe it as an act of hostility, and exert himself to the utmost to sink and disperse their ships.[3]

Clive, on hearing that the Dutch after landing their troops had dropped down the river and so separated their ships from their troops, determined to attack them both by land and water. He ordered Knox to withdraw the detachment at the batteries and join Forde with the utmost speed. He sent a message to Forde informing him that he would be speedily reinforced. He also sent orders to Captain Wilson, "the commodore of the English vessels," to demand immediate restitution of our ships, subjects and property; or on refusal to fight, sink, burn, and destroy the Dutch ships. On the 24th the demand was made and refused. Wilson had the three English East-Indiamen "well equipped for war," says Grose, "and their quarters lined with bags of salt-petre to

[1] "A Narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal."

[2] *Ibid.* Grose states: "Below the English vessels."—Grose, Vol. II., p. 373.

[3] The Narrative states that "On the 23rd of November" the Dutch landed their troops. Grose gives the date as the 22nd, and he is confirmed by Captain Wilson's letter which was "dated on board the *Calcutta* the 22nd of November 1759."—*Loc. cit.*, p. 374 note.

screen the men from the shot." The Dutch, whose superiority was in numbers and weight of metal, had four vessels of 36 guns each, three of 26 guns each, and one of 16 guns. They drew up in line of battle to receive the advancing foe, who followed their example. The first to engage was the *Dorset*. The capricious wind died away, and she had to bear alone an arduous contest. The continuous fire of the enemy almost tore her to pieces, and she had about ninety shot in her.

A light breeze now arose, and the *Calcutta* and *Hardwicke*, creeping up, got alongside of the enemy and opened fire with such tremendous effect that two of their smaller vessels had to cut their cables and run, and the other was driven ashore. For two hours the action continued with unabated vigour. The Dutch fought with their national obstinate courage. The deck of the *Vlissingen*, the commodore's ship, was strewed with the dead and wounded. James Zuydland, the commodore, could fight no more. He struck, and the rest followed his example except the second in command, "who got clear off by fighting his way, and fell down to Culpee." [1] Here he was captured by two British men-of-war, the *Oxford* and *Royal George*, that had just arrived in the river. The loss by the Dutch in killed and wounded was considerable; their ships were seized and the prisoners taken to Calcutta. On the following day the Dutch suffered a decisive defeat on land.

On November 22, 1759, Forde wrote to Clive from "Chittapore" (Chitpur) as follows:

"I have embarked the Artillery, Tents, and Stores in the Evening shall embark the troops in order to lie in the Boats and be in readiness to move Either up or Down according to the orders I shall receive. I have Sent four Boats up the river to give me intelligence in case any number of boats shou'd be in motion this way. I believe the Mynheers are damnably at a loss how to act upon this occasion, notwithstanding they have a Veldt Marshal at their head."

The following day at 3 P.M. Forde again wrote thus:

"I am favour'd with yours of Eleven O'Clock this morning, and have already dispatch'd Harcars both up and down the river for intelligence.

[1] Grose, Vol. II., p. 374.

"I have also detach'd Lieut. Price with two Companys of Seapoys to take up the Post between Sirampore and the French Gardens which the Dutch Occupied last night And shall March to Morrow Morning at day break to Chardinagore if I receive no intelligence that may make it necessary to alter my intention."

On the morning of the 24th Forde crossed the river to Serampore, intending to encamp between Chandernagore and Chinsura. On passing through Chandernagore he found the garrison of Chinsura posted in its ruins, supported by four field-pieces. He soon dislodged them from their ambuscades, captured their field-pieces, and pursued them to the bounds of Chinsura. He was now joined by Captain Knox with the troops from the batteries. That day, November 24, Forde wrote to Carnac:

"I have received your two letters with the news of Dutch ships surrendering and the arrival of Caillaud, of both of which I give you joy. I sincerely rejoice at the arrival of Caillaud who is both willing and capable of doing the Company all the service can be expected from any Officer. I forgot to mention in my letter to the Gov^{r} and Council that we have only lost two men killed and three or four wounded. The Dutch have lost ten or twelve killed and about the same number wounded and Prisoners, besides a good number wounded that have got into the Fort. I am as weak as water from my late illness and shou'd never have been able to keep up, had I not dismounted one of our Gentlemen Troopers and taken his horse."

Malcolm writes:

"It is stated upon good authority, that foreseeing this advantage, but acting with the caution which the attack upon the troops of a European nation not in a state of war required, Colonel Forde wrote a note, stating, 'that if he had the Order in Council, he could attack the Dutch, with a fair prospect of destroying them.' Clive, to whom this note was addressed, received it when playing at cards. Without quitting the table, he wrote an answer in pencil, 'Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the Order of Council to-morrow.'"

We, however, now learn from Forde's letter that he knew the day before the battle that a successful naval action had been fought, and the two nations were therefore in India in a state of war. Malcolm's story first appeared in a well-informed account of Clive's life published in the third volume of the "Biographia Britannica," in 1784, only ten years after his death.

The writer states: "He gave the command, in this perilous service, to Colonel Forde, who was now returned from his last expedition, in which he had been completely successful." In a marginal note the writer adds: "Forde, in great doubt, sent to Clive for orders. Clive, who was playing at cards, took a pencil and wrote on a bit of Forde's letter: 'Dear Forde, fight em immediately; I will send an Order of Council to-morrow.'" [1] The letter, it is now evident, was not sent, as so often stated, on the eve of the battle of Badarah, but it was probably dispatched on the night of the 23rd, authorising Forde, in answer to his note written at 3 A.M., to advance to Chandernagore to attack the Dutch at once.

Before the break of day on November 25 Forde received certain intelligence of the near approach of the Dutch troops from the coast. He also learnt that, in spite of his vigilance, they had been joined by part of the garrison at Chinsura. Leaving a small detachment to watch the Dutch settlement, Forde marched immediately to meet the advancing force. About seven or eight o'clock, after marching some four and a half miles, he discovered them in the plain of Badarah. He at once took up a skilfully chosen position which commanded the direct road to Chinsura. His flanks were protected on the right by the village of Badarah, on the left lay a mango grove, both of which he occupied, and along the whole line ran a small but deep ditch.[2] The English force consisted of 240 European infantry, 80 artillerymen with four field-pieces, 50 more Europeans, comprising the troops of horse "inde-

[1] The Editor of the "Biographia Britannica" writes: "The account of Lord Clive I owe to the pen of my intimate and excellent friend, Henry Beaufoy, Esq., representative in the present parliament for Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk. Knowing that, in the course of his historical, political, and commercial enquiries, in order to become an active and useful member of the legislature, he had paid a particular attention to the affairs of the East-Indies, and being myself very ignorant of the subject, I requested him to draw up an article, which required no small acquaintance with the state of things in that part of the world. With that obligingness of temper which marks Mr. Beaufoy's character, he instantly acceded to my request; and he hath written Lord Clive's life with an authenticity of information, and a perspicuity and elegance of expression, which render it one of the most distinguished ornaments of the present volume. For the materials of his Lordship's personal History, particular thanks are due to the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Clive and to Mr. Burman."

[2] The Dutch state it was "broad and deep."—Broome.

pendent and volunteers," about 800 sepoys, and about 100 of the Nawab's cavalry.[1] The Dutch force numbered 700 Europeans and 800 Malays, besides a number of sepoys. They were commanded by Colonel Roussell, a French soldier of fortune. The engagement was, as Clive states, "short, bloody, and decisive." The Dutch were put to a total rout in less than half an hour.[2] After the battle Forde sent to Clive the following terse account:

"DEAR SIR,—This morning about seven or eight o'clock, I met with the Dutch and Malays and after a fair Engagement put them entirely to the route and have killed and taken a great number of them not much less than two hundred Europeans. They retired into the woods and I have sent Seapoys and Horse after them, when we appear'd they grounded their Baggage and Napsacks very regularly and advanc'd about three or four hundred paces very boldly from whence they fired smartly near half an hour and then made a fair run for it. The woods were about a mile in their rear. All our Peopel behaved very well and we have not lost ten killed and wounded. Our two rear Guns were not got up."

In a second letter Forde added:

"Since I wrote you before, I think I may add two hundred more to the number of killed wounded and prisoners, exclusive of Malays. Mr. Price has charge of a large number of them. He will inform you more particularly."

The same day Forde, in a third letter, wrote to Clive as follows:

[1] Clive's evidence—Report of the House of Commons.

[2] The Dutch India Company have given the following account of this affair: "On the 25th, when the troops and other hands, which, on the 22nd before, were gone on shore, were, in their projected march, come near Chandanagore, they were there met by the English; who, according to their own account, to the number of 1170, were posted very advantageously, and provided with a numerous artillery. No sooner were those troops come within cannon-shot, but they were fired on by the English: and though all the people were extremely fatigued by a very long march, which they were obliged to make for the space of three days, yet with much bravery, they stood the fire of the English; and, though unprovided of any artillery, marched up, with a full and steady pace, to the enemy: but meeting in their way a broad and deep ditch which they were constrained to pass, to avoid being destroyed by the artillery of the English, the troops in passing that ditch, fell into some disorder: the English, taking advantage of this circumstance, redoubled the fire of their artillery and musquetry; and the disorder already arisen, being thereby increased, caused the slaughter of a part of those troops; another part was made prisoners; and the rest were constrained to retire."

"I send you with the Budgerose, Colonel Razell and ten other Officers. I have not taken their paroles in writing as I am much hurried and have other more material Business on my hands. I give you Joy of this Day's Transaction which has been more decisive than cou'd be expected. I may say within Bounds that they have lost above four hundred Europeans killed, wounded and prisoners and a great number of Malays. You may expect a number of Prisoners this night."

There was nothing for Forde to do next. He had by his skill and courage won a victory decisive in its results. The Dutch wrote at once to him requesting he would cease hostilities and propose terms of peace. They made a similar appeal to the Council, who referred it to their deputies.

"We judged we had sufficiently chastised and humbled them, without taking their settlement (which must have surrendered on the first summons), and agreed to enter on a treaty with them. Deputies were appointed, and things brought to a speedy and amicable conclusion. They disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages; on which their ships were delivered up to them."

The Dutch agreed to these humiliating terms to prevent their expulsion from Bengal. Three days after the battle of Badarah a fresh danger faced them. Prince Meeran, contrary to Clive's request, appeared before Chinsura with six or seven thousand horse. The Dutch sought the aid of the English. Clive proceeded at once to the French Gardens, and by his firm intercession an amicable settlement was effected. Prince Meeran promised ample protection to their trade and privileges in the following terms:

"That they shall never meditate war, introduce or enlist troops, or raise fortifications in the country; that they shall be allowed to keep up one hundred and twenty-five European soldiers, and no more, for the service of their several factories, of Chinsura, Cossimbazar and Patna; that they shall forthwith send their ships and remaining troops out of the country; and that a breach of any one of these articles shall be punished with utter expulsion."

This agreement was ratified on December 5, 1759.

Thus ended an affair which, says Clive, had the event been different, threatened us in its consequence with utter

destruction. In dealing with it Clive showed his calm courage and audacious self-reliance. He himself wrote promptly every order and instruction, and when his friends urged upon him the grave responsibility he was incurring in undertaking a campaign before news of war having been proclaimed between the two nations had arrived, he replied that "a public man may occasionally be called upon to act with a halter round his neck." He afterwards told the Select Committee of the House of Commons that "he was sensible how very critical his situation was at that time; that he risked his life and fortune in taking upon himself to commence hostilities against a nation, with whom we were at peace; but that he knew the fate of Bengal and of the Company depended upon it." He also observed

"that at this time by much the greatest part of his fortune was in the hands of the Dutch; the Company's treasury was so full in consequence of his successes, that the governor and council declined giving their servants any bills in their favour, and he was reduced to the necessity of sending his fortune home by bills upon the Dutch; that these bills were made payable by installments, one third part every year, so that he was morally certain that two thirds of the sum sent, which to the best of his remembrance was about £180,000 would remain in the hands of the Dutch, when they heard the news of their ill success in Bengal."

Clive's fundamental principle was devotion to public duty, and he never suffered individual interests to weigh in the balance. After having secured the future safety of his own province, Clive treated the Dutch with scrupulous consideration. An investigation into the whole episode was subsequently held in Europe by Special Commissioners deputed by the British and Dutch Governments, and after minute investigation they acquitted Clive of all blame, and he received, as he merited, the unqualified approval of the Crown Ministers and the Court of Directors.

The grave and critical responsibilities which the Dutch campaign brought with it increased the darkening cloud that hung over his spirit. His health was too disordered by the climate of Bengal for him to throw off the heaviest load of his

life. The best possible way of dealing with it was to take the long sea-voyage to England. But before he could sail measures had to be taken to meet a fresh peril. The arrival of the Dutch armament again stirred the Shahzada into activity, and he was joined by most of his allies. As soon as the treaty with the Dutch was ratified, Clive ordered Major Caillaud, who had under Stringer Lawrence shown coolness and courage in the blaze of battle, and had now been appointed to command in Bengal, to proceed to Murshidabad with a force consisting of 500 European infantry and 50 artillery with 6 field-pieces, as also a complete battalion of sepoys, 1,000 strong. In Caillaud Clive had absolute confidence. "There is not a gentleman on this side of the Cape so well qualified to be your Major as Captain Caillaud," he wrote to the Court; "it is hard to say whether his abilities or his zeal for your service be greater." About December 26, 1759, Caillaud with his detachment reached Murshidabad.

Clive, who knew he could at any time overtake the troops, remained at Calcutta engaged in the current business of the hour and in composing a long General Letter to the Court which was virtually an account of his stewardship now rapidly drawing to a close. The tone assumed by the Directors in their recent dispatches, their carping criticism, their disregard of the recommendations of the Bengal Government, and the favouritism shown in the bestowal of patronage had filled Clive with disgust and defiance. His passion now waxed hot at "the unprovoked and general asperity" of a dispatch just received by the Bengal Government. He considered he had been grossly insulted and wronged. In the 147th Paragraph of the General Letter to the Court, dated December 28, 1759, he let his anger burn. "Permit us to say that the diction of your letter is most unworthy of yourselves and us in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen." The General Letter proceeds, with fierce denunciation, to deal with particular acts: "Groundless informations have, without further scrutiny, borne with you the stamp of truth, though proceeding from

those who had therein obviously their own purpose to serve, no matter at whose expense." They appear to have been "only the source of general reflections thrown out at random against your faithful servants of this Presidency—faithful to little purpose, if the breath of scandal, joined to private pique or private and personal attachments, have power to blow away in one hour the merits of many years' services, and deprive them of that rank and those rising benefits which are justly a spur to their integrity and application." The dispatch closed with a warning:

"The little attention shown to these considerations, in the indiscriminate favours heaped on some individuals, and undeserved censures on others, will, we apprehend, lessen that spirit of zeal so very essential to the well-being of your affairs, and consequently, in the end, if continued, prove the destruction of them. Private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here, from examples at home, and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than their own exigencies require. This being the real state of your service, it becomes strictly our duty to represent it in the strongest light."

The charges were true, the criticism sound, the warning greatly needed, but the dispatch would have been more convincing and forcible if it had possessed the precision and dignity which render Clive's official communications so effective. This General Letter was signed by Clive and four Members of Council. The bitter terms in which it was expressed led to grave results.

As soon as the letter was signed and dispatched, Clive, accompanied by Forde, set out for Murshidabad to make final arrangements regarding the forthcoming expedition and to settle an important dispute which had arisen between the Nawab and the ambitious Meeran. On December 26 Hastings informed Clive that the Nawab considered the demands of the Crown Prince most unreasonable. "He insists upon his taking the Field, to stay four years at Patna, to be allowed 12000 Horse with an immense Artillery &c., & to be regularly supplied with Money from the Revenues of Bengal for their Maintenance, a Proposal the Nabob has positively refused

to consent to." Hastings added, " I fancy the Nabob is averse to an Expedition to the Northward from no other Reason than his Son's obstinate Resolution to have the Command of it. If he could find Means to get over that Obstacle, I believe he would be glad to go himself, but this I fear he wants Spirit to effect." [1]

Clive entered Murshidabad on January 6, and soon after his arrival he introduced Caillaud to the Nawab, recommended him to his friendship, and desired he would repose all the confidence possible in one who was well inclined and attached to his interest.[2] Clive overcame Meer Jaffier's objections to the expedition by arranging that Meeran should not command the troops he sent to accompany it. On January 14 he set out with Forde on the return journey. Four days later Caillaud began his march to Patna, joined by Meeran at the head of a large force.[3] Warren Hastings wrote to Clive on January 19 as follows :

" It will not give you much surprise, after such repeated Instances of the Nabob's irresolute & fickle Temper, to hear that the plan which the Nabob agreed upon with you for the operations of the Campaign is entirely oversett. Cassim allee Cawn remains behind, and the Chuta Nabob under pretence of having met with a lucky Minute exacted from his Father his consent that he should take the Field, which Advantage he made immediate Use of, & marched out to Saddoc baug, where he received his Dismission from the old Nabob the Day before yesterday."

On January 20 Clive heard that the Nawab of Oudh was prepared to enter Behar in support of the Shahzada. He at once wrote and informed Caillaud that he had ordered 200 Europeans " in addition to the reinforcements this day despatched to you to be in readiness to proceed after you. . . . If you meet with the Prince I am persuaded you will give a good account of him ; and that the check he will receive will deter others from making any incursions into the Nawab's dominions."

[1] " Letter to the Hon'ble Robert Clive Esq. from Warren Hastings, Muradbaug, 26th December 1759." Powis MSS.
[2] Colonel Caillaud's evidence—First Report of the Select Committee.
[3] *Ibid.*

On his return to Calcutta, Clive laboured assiduously to the dispatch of those measures of reform, civil and military, which he found pending when he apprised the public of his intention of resigning the office of Governor and returning to England. All classes, European and Indian, were sore alarmed and distressed at the prospect of his departure. "It appeared," said a contemporary, "as if the soul was departing from the government of Bengal." Warren Hastings wrote to Clive thus: "The Nabob ask'd me if I thought you could be persuaded to put off your design of returning to Europe; of which I gave him but little Hope." Meer Jaffier chafed at Clive's control, and he had intrigued with the Dutch to get rid of it, but Clive's hardihood of resolution at that critical event had greatly impressed him. The majority of the nobles of the Murshidabad Court were in favour of a revolution, and the Nawab knew that his tenure of the throne mainly depended on the strong arm of Clive. Meer Jaffier's mind was therefore not in a happy state at the approaching departure of one to whom he was attached both by interest and inclination. "The old Nabob Meer Jaffier, if ever Musselman had a friendship for a Christian," Clive told the House of Commons, "had a friendship for me." Clive knew how to deal with an Oriental prince; he was firm, candid, and courteous, but he never patronised. In his dealings with Warren Hastings and the chief officials his censure was at times conveyed in language too forcible, but he was liberal in praise when it was due, and, alarmed at losing his support and guidance, they begged him to postpone for another season his departure. The European residents at Calcutta presented him with the following address:

Honble Sir,—The Inhabitants of this Settlement, truely sensible of the Benefits they have received from your generous Assistance, in obtaining them Restitution for the heavy Losses they sustained, in the miserable Catastrophe of June 1756, and for your great Care and Assiduity, in the Collecting of that Part of the Nabob's Donation do with the utmost Gratitude return their hearty and sincere Thanks for those great Favors conferr'd on them, the Remembrance whereof will be for ever indelible.

On this Occasion we beg leave to observe that the present State

of this Country appears to us to be very unsettled, and that this Colony which thro' your means has been so lately happily restored with great additional Acquisitions so truely beneficial to the Honble Company, and much to the Honor of the British Nation, cannot be deem'd perfectly secure while there is so strong an Appearance of intestine War, Foreign Invasions, or Irruptions from the inland Country Powers, and which is only prevented by the eminent Character you deservedly bear throughout the Mogull's Dominions.

From a due Consideration of the above, our Apprehensions are greatly alarm'd by the Report which is now current and publickly asserted, that you intend to withdraw your Presence from us, and take your Passage to Europe this Season, and we cannot from the present Face of Things, but feel real Concern in the Knowledge of what must be the Consequence of the Want of that Influence which is derived from it. We therefore most humbly request that you will please to deem this our precarious Situation worthy your most serious Deliberation, and that you will from a tender Regard for such a Number of British Subjects, your Countrymen at this great Distance from their native Country, and a slight Reflection on the Miseries that must attend them in your Absence, remain among us, untill such Time as the Posture of Affairs shall wear a more favorable Aspect, The Policy of the Country be on a more stable footing, and this Settlement in a Situation more secure and less liable to the Insults of every Invader, who from our present Weakness may attempt our Ruin, And we flatter ourselves that we have not less to hope for, from that good Disposition & Generosity which you have on all Occasions shown toward us.

Your Compliance with this our most earnest Sollicitation will forever oblige us to subscribe ourselves with most sincere and gratefull Respect, Honble Sir, Your most obliged, and Most Obedient Servants.

Clive in his reply stated that, though the "ill treatment" he had received from the Court of Directors in their last dispatch had fully determined him to resign the service of the Company, "yet I could waive all personal considerations, and without hesitation comply with your request, did the state of your affairs really require my making such a sacrifice to you." But the arrival of Major Caillaud with reinforcements and the near approach of the detachments from the Sircars, he told them, had ensured them from the least shadow of danger for some time to come. "In the interim, proper measures may be taken at home for the better security of this valuable settlement, to promote which, you may depend upon my exerting my utmost interests; and I may perhaps be able to serve

you more effectually than by my continuing here." There was one substantial reason he did not advance—the state of his health. But his aim all during his life was to conceal his mysterious malady and not let his intense suffering interfere with the discharge of his official duties. The rapid succession of momentous events, which he alone could guide and control, had already led him to delay his departure long beyond the horizon of prudence. It was now full time for him to be gone. An infant son lay sick unto death, but the voyage must not be postponed. A faded letter preserved by a mother's love informs us that the boy died a few days after his departure.

On February 21, 1760, Clive sailed for England. When he had landed at Fulta on December 16, 1756, he found a few fever-stricken Englishmen, who had escaped as fearful a doom as any on record, and a ruined settlement. Before two months were ended he had driven Surajah Dowla and his vast army out of Calcutta, and on its ruins there rose a city which became a centre of English enterprise, and it will always represent the patient endurance and force of will of the Briton. The old trading citadel was given over to the Custom House and other offices, and Clive laid the foundation and watched vigilantly the erection of a fort which would shelter an army. Before four months had passed Clive had captured Chandernagore, the gate of the great water highway leading to Hindustan, and had destroyed French power in Bengal. On June 23, 1757, one year and two days after the tragedy of the Black Hole, he routed the Nawab's army on the field of Plassey, and the English obtained the patronage of the richest kingdom in India. The new Sovereign, whom Clive placed on the throne, ceded to the Company some lands small in extent near the city of Calcutta, but there was planted the first seed of territorial acquisition which grew into an empire. Clive created and disciplined a considerable force. He guarded the Nawab from the conspiracies of his grandees, and he defeated the invaders of his territory. On the eve of his departure he humbled the Dutch. He had during the course of three years

carried out in the most difficult circumstances a course of actions, political and military, without a failure, and closing in complete success.

As the *Royal George*, on which Clive and his wife had embarked, was "coming out of the river of Bengal, it was met with an express, dispatched from the coast of Coromandel, with advice that Colonel Coote, having attacked the French in their intrenchments, the latter were totally defeated with the loss of their cannon and baggage, General Lally wounded, and M. de Bussy and Col. Murphy taken prisoners. On our side, Col. Brereton, the second in command, was killed." [1]

The news was true. On January 22, 1760, Eyre Coote had completely defeated Lally outside the Fort of Wandewash. While Clive was destroying the power of the Dutch in Bengal, events prepared the way for that battle which shook the whole fabric of French power in Southern India to its foundation. The contest was confined almost entirely to the European soldiers, who were about 2,000 on each side, and the battle was won by the skill and courage of Eyre Coote, and by the imperturbable steadiness of the British soldier, which has never failed.

On January 23 at noon came in a note from Colonel Coote as follows:

"I have just time to acquaint you that we have beat the Enemy on the Field of Battle, M.r Bussy & Colonel Murphy taken Prisoners." [2]

[1] "Annual Register, 1760 Chronicle."
[2] "Selections from the Madras Records," edited by G. W. Forrest.

CHAPTER IV

1760–1764: CLIVE IN ENGLAND

On the "9th of July 1760—The *Royal George* East-Indiaman, Captain Beamish, arrived at Portsmouth from Bengal, Colonel Clive and his lady came passengers in her." [1] After landing they pushed on with all speed, and were soon again in the old home in Swithin's Lane.

On Monday, "14th July 1760 Colonel Clive was introduced to his Majesty at Kensington with Richard Clive his father and were most graciously received." [2] Clive's arrival was welcomed not only by the gracious distinction of his Sovereign, but also by the warmest acknowledgments of the East India Company and by the general applause of his countrymen. At a General Court of the Directors and Proprietors, held on Wednesday, September 24, 1760—"Resolved unanimously that the thanks of this Court be given to Vice-Admiral Pocock, Colonel Robert Clive, and Colonel Stringer Lawrence for their many, eminent and signal services to the Company." The chronicler informs us that "It is supposed that the General can realise £1,200,000 in cash, bills, and jewels; that his lady has a casket of jewels which are estimated at least at £200,000. So that he may with propriety be said to be the richest subject in the three kingdoms." [3]

Though Clive did not possess the colossal wealth which his countrymen imagined, he brought home a substantial fortune which returned him an income of about £13,000 a year, and this with the quit-rent of the *jaghire*, about £27,000, gave

[1] "Annual Register, Chronicle." Malcolm states: "Clive could not have reached England before September or October, 1760."—Malcolm, Vol. II., p. 190. This statement has misled subsequent biographers.

[2] "Clive (Robert), 1st Baron Clive's Correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle, 1757–1767."

[3] "Annual Register for the Year 1760," p. 120.

him an income of upwards of £40,000. Clive did not acquire the bulk of his wealth by trade, nor by the slow and sure process of economy, but by the swift fortune of war. Few men who have gained great riches cared less for them. He valued them as an instrument for the satisfaction of the passion for power and the gratification of the affections. When he obtained a magnificent reward for his services at Plassey, he showed himself as a man bountiful in money matters. He spent not less than £50,000 in gifts and annuities on those near to him whom he loved and on others on whom he bestowed his friendship and regard. As an addition to the handsome allowance which he gave his parents, he directed his agents to vest a sufficient sum of money to produce an annuity of £500 for his thriftless father, whose pecuniary embarrassments were a constant source of anxiety. He also directed his agents to keep a coach for his parents, and to meet the cost he instructed them to invest a sum of money which would return £300 a year. A further sum was to be invested to produce an annuity of £150 for his aunts. He ordered £2,000 to be paid to each of his five sisters. "I would advise the lasses to marry as soon as possible," he wrote, "for they have no time to lose." He invested a sum of money which would produce an annuity of £500 for his old commander Stringer Lawrence, who was with considerable difficulty persuaded to accept it. The largesse of which he was so prodigal absorbed another £10,000. There never was a more generous and faithful friend than Robert Clive. It was in the character of a son, a brother and a friend, and not of a victorious commander, that Clive was most eagerly expected and most warmly welcomed.

Darkness, however, soon fell on Clive's bright home-coming. He had at the call of duty stayed too long in Bengal. Before leaving Calcutta he had an attack of gout, and soon after his arrival in England a severe attack shattered his muscular frame and shook his powerful mind. For this Clive went to Bath. When he had been there some time, the sudden death of George II. produced a great change in public affairs. The waters of the famous health resort had somewhat restored Clive's

vigour and the excitement of an approaching election enabled him in a measure to cast off his gloom. Soon after Plassey, when fortune smiled on him, he wrote, "I intend getting into Parliament." He now plunged into the turbid waters of home politics. It was the most corrupt period in our political history. Lavish was the expenditure on the wholesale purchase of boroughs, and the corruption of members was gross and systematic. Clive was only thirty-five years of age. He was ambitious and he was rich. With wealth to back him and troops of adherents he would gather influence and be a power in the State. He proceeded to buy boroughs and to contribute handsomely towards the expenses of fighting elections. The Duke of Newcastle, well skilled in the art of corruption, governed the political machine. He was his own chief whip. He knew the intrigues of every borough, and his primary interest in public affairs was to maintain himself as chief wire-puller. On December 3, 1760, Clive wrote to him as follows:

My Lord Duke,—I think it my duty to inform You that some time ago the Gentlemen of Worcester made me an offer of returning me a Member of that City; but being otherwise Engaged I recommended my friend and Relation Mr. Walsh which was accepted of & a few days ago he set out for Worcester & arrived there finding no opposition but lately Mr. Tracey has opposed him & it is reported, he is Countenanced by Your Grace on a supposition he is not of a right way of thinking, I beg leave to assure Your Grace, he is the greatest of Friends to His Majesty, the Nation and its present happy Constitution and as much attached to Your Grace as Myself or any of my family, I shall esteem it the greatest of obligations if Your Grace will look upon Mr. Walsh in the same light which I do and you will be persuaded that I am

Your Grace's

Most devoted obliged & hum. Servt

Bath
3 Decr 1760.[1]

Robert Clive.

Clive's strenuous endeavours to have Walsh accepted as a candidate for Worcester did not meet with success. He himself, however, found no difficulty in obtaining a seat. On April 27, 1761, he was elected as a member for Shrewsbury,

[1] "Clive (Robert), 1st Baron Clive's Correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle, 1757–1767."

a representation the more agreeable as it was the chief town of his own county. Clive made his reappearance in Parliament as a disciple of Pitt, for whose brilliant genius and foreign policy a great soldier statesman was bound to have a sympathetic admiration. Clive also found in the force of personal association an injunction to hail Pitt as a leader. He was acquainted with him before he left England; he had kept in touch with him by correspondence. Pitt had spoken of Clive in terms of highest praise, and Pitt's sympathy and power had, when affairs in Bengal were most critical, been of great service to him.

An ambitious man, anxious for place and distinction, Clive entered the House of Commons, but he was equally anxious for the prosperity and security of England's possessions in India, and he hoped by the influence of Pitt to have measures passed which would conduce to that end. Clive had the imagination to apprehend a new phenomenon. A trading company was fast becoming a sovereign over large territories, and he did not consider the Company by its constitution fit to assume the duties and responsibilities of sovereignty. Twelve months before he left Calcutta he wrote a long letter to Pitt in which he suggested in guarded language that the English nation should acquire the absolute sovereignty of "these rich kingdoms," Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The numerous corrections and marginal notes in the original draft testify to the great labour which he bestowed on the composition of this State paper. After remarking on "the vast advantages gained to the Company" by a treaty due to the success of the English arms, he states that he had represented to them

> "in the strongest terms the expediency of sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandising themselves; and I dare pronounce, from a thorough knowledge of this country government, and of the genius of the people, acquired by two years' application and experience, that such an opportunity will soon offer."

If Meer Jaffier considered it his interest to break with us, "the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint." More-

over, Meer Jaffier was advanced in years, "and his son is so cruel, worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy to the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession." Two thousand European troops would secure the English against any apprehensions from either the one or the other; "and, in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves." Clive then put forward the fallacy which has influenced many statesmen and been an apology for further aggression:

"There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes; and as, under the present Government, they have no security for their lives or properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic Government: and there is little room to doubt our easily obtaining the Moghul's sunnud (or grant) in confirmation thereof, provided we agreed to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues, viz. fifty lacs annually."

The Oriental prefers a rough, despotic sovereign who rules according to the ancient customs of his ancestors and by methods sanctioned by tradition, rather than the best alien administrative efficiency. The main drift of the letter, however, was, that not the Company but the Crown should assume the sovereignty of Bengal. The mind which at that time could travel to such a far-reaching change was worthy of a great statesman. The following are the reasons which Clive put forward with considerable skill for carrying out this measure:

"But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile Company; and it is to be feared they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance, to maintain so wide a dominion. I have therefore presumed, Sir, to represent this matter to you, and submit it to your consideration, whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths, be worthy of the Government's taking it in hand. I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you, that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms; and that with the Moghul's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues there of. Now I leave you to judge, whether an income yearly of upwards of two millions sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable productions of nature and of art, be an object deserving

the public attention ; and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition,—an acquisition which, under the management of so able and disinterested a minister would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund towards diminishing the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour. Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our indulgence, and under such limitations as we should think fit to prescribe. It is well worthy consideration, that this project may be brought about without draining the mother country, as has been too much the case with our possessions in America."

The letter was entrusted to Walsh, who was on his way home, to be delivered personally to Pitt. Before leaving India, Clive had not heard how Pitt had received the proposals suggested. On November 26, 1759, Walsh wrote to Clive informing him of his interview with Pitt. "It was not till six days ago," he said, "that I had admittance to Mr. Pitt. He had made one or two appointments, but was obliged by business to postpone them, for certainly he has an infinite deal on his hands." Pitt received Walsh "with the utmost politeness, and we had a *tête-à-tête* for an hour and a quarter," of which Walsh gives Clive the particulars:

"He began by mentioning how much he was obliged to you, and for the marks you had given him of your friendship ; and then began on the subject of your letter. I said I was apprehensive, from my not having had the honour to speak with him before, that he looked upon the affair as chimerical : he assured me, not at all, but very practicable ; but that it was of a very nice nature."

It was certainly an affair of the most delicate nature. Pitt then proceeded to mention two main obstacles to its accomplishment: The Company's charter would not expire for twenty years, and that "upon some late transactions it had been inquired into, whether the Company's conquests and acquisitions belonged to them or the Crown, and the Judges seemed to think to the Company." Walsh added, "He spoke this matter a little darkly, and I cannot write upon it with precision." Pitt was in a difficult position. It was due to him that a charter was granted to the Company in 1757, by

which the moiety of all plunder and booty "which shall be taken from the Moors," that had been reserved till the pleasure of the Crown should be known, should be given to the Company. In 1758 a more important charter was given. It expressly granted to the Company power to cede, restore or dispose of any fortresses, districts or territories acquired by conquest from any of the Indian princes or governments during the late troubles between the Company and the "Nabob of Bengal," or which should be acquired by conquest in time coming. Pitt could hardly in 1760 promote a measure which would deprive the Company of their direct power over Bengal. He, however, stated that it was not proper that the Company should have the yearly income of upwards of two millions sterling, "nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties," and that Clive had shown his good sense by the application of it to the public. "He said the difficulty of effecting the affair was not great, under such a genius as Colonel Clive; but the sustaining it was the point: it was not probable he would be succeeded by persons equal to the task."

Pitt evidently sympathised with the line of policy marked out by Clive, which was as vivid and correct in conception as it was patriotic in motives. But the difficulties at the time were too great even for Pitt to overcome. Clive's letter was, however, the germ of the Parliamentary measures which led step by step to the transfer of the substance of authority from the Company to the Crown. The letter is dated January 7, 1759. On August 2, 1858, the Royal assent was given to the final measures by which the government of the territories and all powers vested in, or exercised by, the Company "in trust for Her Majesty" shall cease to be vested in, or exercised by, the Company.

Clive had been only a few months in Parliament when he lost the support of Pitt, who on October 5 handed over his seal to the King. The Duke of Newcastle, however, still continued to be First Lord of the Treasury, and George Grenville, with whom Clive had contracted a close friendship, was in the Cabinet. Clive now spent his time between London and

Bath. He purchased as his town residence the lease of a spacious house in Berkeley Square, and there the leading men of the time pressed around him and courted his intimacy. The young Sovereign received him with great distinction. But the applause of his countrymen, the reception given him by his Sovereign, and the marked attention paid him by the Ministers were not sufficient to feed the flame of his warm ambition. His aspirations are vaguely set forth in a letter addressed to Newcastle on May 3, 1761: "If less had been said," he wrote, "I should have been less ambitious and consequently less unhappy." Clive desired that his great services should be more definitely recognised by an honour from the source of honour. Newcastle was bound to gratify the ambition of one who was in the House of Commons at the head of a body of adherents, and, a sharp bestower of patronage, he attempted to satisfy it by the bestowal of an Irish peerage and the promise of future higher honours. On October 13, 1761, Clive wrote a letter to Newcastle which now explains the paradox how he came to be created Baron Clive of Plassey, County Clare, in the Kingdom of Ireland:

"My Lord Duke,—I just now learn from Mr. Jones that your Grace is desirous of having my intended title in order to put a finishing touch to the Honour His Majesty's intends me through your Grace's interest.

Being in possession of an Estate in Ireland of nearly 2000£ per annum I have given orders to have it called Plassey the name of the place where we gained our great Victory in India to which I owe all my good Fortune, if therefore Your Grace thinks there is no Impropriety in the thing I propose my Title to be Robert Lord Clive Baron of Plassey in the Kingdom of Ireland but this I submit as well as every thing else to Your Grace being with the greatest respect

Y^r^ Graces

Most devoted & obliged humble Serv

Berkeley Sq^re^, Robert Clive.

13*th Feb^r^*, 1761.

Among the townlands in County Clare which Clive purchased was Ballykilty, whose name he changed to Plassey. "Ballykilty is in the parish of Quin," writes a learned antiquary, "close to the Franciscan abbey founded by the

Macnamaras. It is bounded on the west by the little river Rhine." Plassey in County Clare bounded by the river Rhine, seems redolent of Ireland.[1]

On December 1, 1761, Clive wrote thus to Newcastle:

My Lord Duke,—I thought before this to have kissed the King's hand for the Honor his Majesty has been pleased to bestow upon me and at the same time to have testified my Gratitude to Your Grace as the first Cause and Principal Promoter of this Honor. In a few days I still hope to have that Pleasure, in the mean time give me leave to assure Your Grace I think as I ought of this great mark of your Graces Favor and shall upon all occasions be ready to convince Your Grace how much I am

Your Graces
Most devoted & obliged humble Servt,

Bath, Robert Clive.
1 *Dec.*, 1761.

The letter which Clive wrote to Major Carnac on February 22, 1762, reveals his feelings on the subject. He observes:

"If health had not deserted me on my first arrival in England, in all probability I had been an English peer, instead of an Irish one, with the promise of a red riband. I know I could have bought the title (which is usual), but that I was above, and the honours I have obtained are free and voluntary. My wishes may hereafter be accomplished."

Many and various were the congratulations which Clive received on his increase of rank. It was, however, inevitable that his splendid position and his power in the political world should create jealousies and animosities. The chief among those whose jealousy he aroused was Lawrence Sulivan, Chairman of the Court of Directors. The two men, as we learn from their letters, had been on friendly terms when Clive was in Bengal. Sulivan had warmly praised Clive's successes, and Clive had written to his friends among the proprietors to vote for Sulivan's election to the chair. Both men were greedy of power. Lawrence Sulivan was a man of under-

[1] The paper on Clive in the "Biographia Britannica" states that "his Sovereign conferred upon him, on the first of December, in the year 1751, the dignity of Baron in the kingdom of Ireland by the title of Lord Clive Baron Plasse in the County of Clare." The patent is dated Dublin, March 15, George III., second year of his reign.

standing and considerable natural parts, and of strong will, who had accumulated wealth in Bombay. He was no sooner landed as Chairman than his knowledge of an Indian Presidency and its administration, a knowledge which few of his colleagues possessed, and his ability, made him quickly "the autocrat of the India House." It is easy to see that causes for disagreement would arise between two resolute men greedy of power, and Clive cannot be acquitted of a share in the responsibility of producing a bitter feud. A copy of his letter to Pitt was sent to Sulivan. He had not, like Clive, the genius of a great administrator, and he was incapable of forming an opinion on the wise policy suggested by Clive. He was the Chairman of a company, able by force of character to overawe men, and he took a purely official view of the matter. He considered that it was a gross act of insubordination for the Governor of a Province, who was the servant of the Company, to write to a Minister suggesting a curtailment of the Company's power. The unfortunate letter, which Clive drafted on the eve of his departure from India, reached the Court, and its insulting language inflamed the wrath of Sulivan and his colleagues, and this anger was nothing but natural. Clive was out of the reach of their power, but they positively ordered and directed that immediately on receipt of their General Letter to Bengal, dated January 21, 1761, all those persons still remaining in the Company's service who signed the dispatch "be dismissed from the Company's service; and you are to take care that they be not permitted, on any consideration, to continue in India, but that they are to be sent to England by the first ships which return home the same season you receive this letter." [1]

On March 16, 1761, Sulivan wrote to Eyre Coote as follows:

"The Behaviour of the then Bengall Gentlemen to you being similar to their Treatment to their Masters, it puts an End to all reasoning, still your detention at Madrass verifies that reflection of Pope upon human Foresight 'Whatever is, is best.' & how much are we indebted to Providence, for this Disobedience to our Orders.

[1] Mill's "History of British India," Vol. III., p. 226.

Your Country & your friend share the honor of your masterly & prosperous Conduct. General Lawrence has perused your Journal, he publickly applauds your Dispositions, and declares they were striking Proofs of great Military abilities. Mr Pitt, who you know was a Soldier by Profession, has done you high Honour in publishing his Sentiments, & with him you are a Tip-top favourite. The East India Company have a grateful Sense of your Services; Praises of such Weight & Dignity must administer infinite Satisfaction to a good Mind & I know you will enjoy them.

Your Letter of the 15th of Febr alarmed Me beyond expression, no one was (I found) Master of the Contents, for the Govr & Council (I suppose) had not time to mention it, & therefore the whole was concealed, but very fortunately subsequent Advices, via Anjango, inform'd us that You had taken —— by Storm, which proved to Me that You had reassumed the Command, & now to the Matter itself—My dear Coote you was absolutely wrong, the Govr & Council no less so—You should not have nominated the Commanding officer without their previous Consent & Approval, but once done, they should have considered your great & distinguish'd Services, & overlooked their own Prerogative, 'What dire Effects from trivial Causes spring'—May this find you happy in Harmony." [1]

Both Sulivan and Clive were given to quoting Pope. Sulivan added:

"Our People at Madrass we find are hot-headed, but they are able, generous & open,—I can smother their Rebukes, but the ungrateful Wretches, late of Bengall, have hurt my Temper. Pray keep up a friendly Correspondence with General Lawrence, he is great & good, I adore him for his distinguished & noble Spirit—As I conclude you are now at Bengall, be well with Vansittart, I beg; from his Character he is high in my Esteem, & from his Virtues & Abilitys, I expect that lawless Settlement of Calcutta, will be reformed to Decency & Order—our Military Expences are amazingly large even beyond what we can possibly support for any time, Pray manifest your Regard to the Company in cutting off every necessary Charge, & do not let us be loaded with that cruel Article of Batta, when it can be avoided." [2]

Clive had been the chief of "the then Bengall Gentlemen," and he was the head of "the ungrateful Wretches, late of Bengall," but Sulivan did not fail to maintain amicable correspondence with him. He redoubled his profession of friendship and respect. In a letter dated September 29 he states:

[1] Letter from Mr. Sulivan to Colonel Coote, London, March 16, 1761.—Powis MSS.

[2] Powis MSS.

"Need I say that it mortifyes me when I cannot oblige You; especially as its so rare that You call upon me, but upon my Word to serve S^r^ Rowlands Son in the way You point out will be impracticable; having within these two Months refus'd some high Applications & abo^t^ 6 Months past M^r^ Sec^y^ Pitt rece^d^ a Negative." [1]

He adds:

"But really Sir Vansittart has embarass'd me—a most impertinent Paragraph bordering upon Insolence is inserted in their last General Letter taxing us with injustice in sending Factors abroad to supersede those who have great Merit & Abilitys;—these animadversions are in favour of a parcel of Boys whose Friends here having Copys of the Remonstrating Paragraph are Noisy & troublesome, however to compleat the Scene Vansittart by the very same Conveyance presses me to appoint Doctor Hancock & one Parker Heatly Factors at Bengall & tells me that M^r^ Lyon Brother to L^d^ Strathmore (& one of those they write against) is a fine Youth & will do honour to the Service—is this Treatment candid, or becoming?" [2]

The negotiations for peace with France had been begun, and continued for some time when, on July 20, news reached London of the fall of Pondicherry. After the decisive victory of Wandewash, Eyre Coote conducted the campaign with such vigour and unremitting success that some of the most important strongholds of the French soon fell into the hands of the victors. On January 22, 1760, the great battle was fought: on February 2, Eyre Coote laid siege to Arcot, whose fort had been more strongly fortified since the memorable defence by Clive. Eight days after, Eyre Coote wrote to "The Hon'ble The President and Council, Fort St. George":

"I have the pleasure of acquainting you, that I am now in possession of the Fort of Arcot. The Garrison (which Consisted of 11 Officers, 203 Europeans & between 2 & 300 Seapoys) surrendered Prisoners of War this morning." [3]

The fort of Permacoil, situated about eighteen miles northwest of it, was reckoned by the French as the key of Pondicherry. The citadel crowned a rugged rock some three hundred feet high, at whose base was a *pittah*, or town, surrounded by mud walls. On March 6 Eyre Coote wrote:

[1] Letter from Mr. Sulivan to Colonel Clive, Mile End Green, September 29, 1761.—Powis MSS.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Letter from Eyre Coote, Arcot Village, February 10, 1760.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that Permacoil surrendered to me last night. The Situation of this place is of such a nature, that I may venture to say with 50 Europeans & 2 Companies of Seapoys, I could defend it for twelve months against any Army that could be brought against it—and to make use of Colonel Kennely's own expression, nothing but Devils or Monkeys could take it—we had the ladders upon the Men's Shoulders to put against the walls; when he surrendered." [1]

Eyre Coote now marched towards Pondicherry, and on March 11 he went to reconnoitre the north bounds of the town. "I determined to get as good a sight as possible of that side, and accordingly went close up. I had a good view of their batteries without a soul giving me the least disturbance." That night he had an interview with Bussy, whom he had summoned to return to his camp.

"His behaviour on this occasion," says Eyre Coote, "has confirmed me in the opinion I always had of him—that of a man of strict honor. He had a general Council of the French Nation held upon him before he came away, in which they declared him at liberty to continue at Pondicherry, notwithstanding which and the most severe reflections thrown on him by Mr. Lally, were not sufficient to make him break that parole he had given me." [2]

On March 12 the strong fort of Alamparva, to the north of Pondicherry, surrendered, and Karikal now remained the only station on the coast, except Pondicherry, in the possession of the French. Karikal, blockaded by His Majesty's squadron under Rear-Admiral Cornish and besieged by a small force sent from Trichinopoly, surrendered, after a brief resistance, on April 5. It was a severe loss, as it was the outlet for the rich country of Tanjore, and Lally hoped it would be a port of considerable service when d'Ache with his fleet appeared. On the 16th Valdore surrendered, and, about the same time, Fort St. David and Cuddalore were again in British possession.

In April, 1760, Admiral Pocock, who had rendered such splendid service, had sailed for England, and been succeeded by Stevens, his able second in command. And Stevens readily gave assistance to Eyre Coote. As the British forces closed

[1] Letter from Eyre Coote, Tindavanom, March 6, 1760.
[2] Letter from Eyre Coote, Camp before Allumparva, March 11, 1760.

in upon Pondicherry, Stevens established a rigorous blockade. Lally, for many weary months, watched for d'Ache's fleet, which he heard had sailed for the coast, and which alone could save him. Sore pressed, he now made overtures to Hyder Ali, the young commander of a detachment at the siege of Trichinopoly, who was now the chief of a formidable army, and the virtual ruler of Mysore. An agreement was concluded. Hyder was to supply a certain amount of provisions for Pondicherry, and a force of 2,000 horse and 4,000 sepoys, with artillery, to be subsidised by the French. The Mysoreans, increasing in numbers, and collecting large herds of cattle, swept down the country. In a letter dated July 19, Eyre Coote informs the Presidency that Major More

"has had an Engagement with the Mysoreans, and by my different intelligence from Hircars am afraid it has ended much to his disadvantage, what corroborates this conjecture is, the Mysoreans passing the River with their Convoy of Provisions, and the junction of part of them with Mr. Lally."

He added in a postscript:

"The French fired a salute this afternoon of 52 Guns upon hearing, as I suppose, the affair between him (More) and the Mysoreans." [1]

It was, however, a mere passing gleam of success. A few days after, July 21, 1760, Eyre Coote wrote:

"I have now the pleasure to Acquaint you that the Fort of Villenour is in our possession, Yesterday at 12 o'Clock at Noon we took it by storm, in the face of the whole French Army and the Mysoreans, who joined them the Evening before to the number of 4000; they were marching down to its relief, with several heavy Cannon, but upon seeing our Colours hoisted, and the Salute fired from the Fort they retired, at the Same time Cannonading us with 24-pounders."

The Mysoreans, though dexterous as marauders, brought in provisions barely sufficient for their own consumption. And when they found the blockade grow more rigorous, and they began to feel the pressure of want, they decamped one night from the glacis of Pondicherry.

Lally now received a far greater blow than the departure

[1] Letter from Eyre Coote, Perambeck, July 19, 1760.

of the Mysoreans. At the close of July two vessels escaped the vigilance of the English fleet and anchored off Pondicherry. They were frigates, the *Hermione* and the *Baleine*, forerunners of the long-expected fleet, Lally thought. They told him that d'Ache had been forbidden by the French Government to return to the Coromandel Coast. Lally realised the gravity of the news, but he nourished his hope, and calamities excited his courage and quickened his endeavours. The secret was scrupulously guarded, and he spread the report that a great fleet would shortly anchor before Pondicherry.

Meanwhile, ships and men continued to come to Madras. On July 31 the Company's ships arrived in the road of Cuddalore, and two days after came another which had separated from them. They had on board 600 men drafted from regiments in England to replace the casualties in Draper's and Coote's corps. A month after, September 2, there arrived at Cuddalore three of the King's ships convoying several of the Company's from England. "Of the men-of-war two were the *America* and *Medway*, each 60 guns, which compleated the squadron before Pondicherry to 17 sail of the line." On board the Company's ships was part of a Highland regiment under Major Hector Munro, the gallant soldier who has a high title to rank with England's best and bravest commanders.

Lally, seeing that he was every day being girdled with a ring of iron, determined to smash it by a decisive blow. He formed a daring plan for surprising at night the English lines. On the night of September 4 the columns sallied forth. The surprise was complete. The redoubt on the left was taken, but in the centre the attack and defence were fierce. The column sent to attack the camp in rear did not reach its destination in time to co-operate, and the other divisions had to retire with heavy loss. But the fruitless effort did not turn Lally's determination to continue the defence, and the proud and gallant soldiers of France, when the cloud gathered to overwhelm them, displayed their fidelity and devotion. When September came, Eyre Coote had completed the investment on all sides. In the beginning of October the stormy monsoon

season began, and, owing to the rains, little could be done; but Admiral Stevens, who had, at the urgent request of the Madras Government, consented to remain on the coast, in spite of the imminent risk he ran, continued to maintain a vigilant blockade. Early in December, when the weather began to be fine, regular siege operations were commenced, and bombarding batteries erected. They were playing on the town when the Old Year passed. In the first hours of 1761 a cyclonic storm smote the coast. Eyre Coote thus communicated the news to Madras on January 2:

To The Honourable The President &ca
Council of Fort St. George.

Gentlemen,—After the most terrible night of wind and rain that I was ever witness to, I have this morning the most dismal prospect, our fleet (I am afraid) entirely destroyed, four of the ships we see dismasted, and two more on shore. The beach is covered with pieces of wrecks. The Army almost in as great distress, having our tents, hutts and every thing belonging to us entirely destroyed. Great numbers of the black people, Men, Women & Children have been killed. I fear greatly for the Ship *Duke*, she had the greater part of her stores on board. It is absolutely necessary that you Gentlemen exert your utmost by sending us as speedy supplies as possible, to make up for this unfortunate disaster, and to enable us at the same time to push on the siege with vigour. I am by this shocking scene of confusion so hurried, which prevents me from saying anything farther at present than that,

I am, Gentlemen,
Your Most Obedient and most humble Servant
Eyre Coote.

Oulgarey, Head Quarters,
2*nd January*, 1761.

The next day he wrote as follows:

Gentlemen,—After I had the Honor of writing to you yesterday I went along the sea side to the southward of Pondichery where I had a most miserable prospect of our shattered Fleet, it is not in my power to describe the horror of the night on the 1st and the dreadful effects of it, there are three Ships on shore, most of the crews will be saved, the names are the *New Castle, Queenborough, & Protector.* Three Ships have foundered: the *Duke of Acquitaine, Sunderland,* and *Duke,* Storeship, the two former had but one man saved, and the latter seven blacks. Four large Ships are entirely dismasted, who they are I do not exactly know, nor can I tell any thing of the

few remaining ships of the Squadron. Should the *Revenge* be arrived at Madras I beg you would dispatch her immediately and whatever armed vessels you can collect, as we have not at present even a boat to block up the place. I sent off an express yesterday to Bombay by way of Anjengo, in order to hurry round the Ships of War there, and I am doing every thing in my power to help the distressed people here, as well as to carry on the attacks on this place. The storm has almost rendered useless everything I have hitherto done, yet I hope by a little activity and perseverance to get the better of this misfortune.

I have the honor to be with great Respect & Esteem,
Gentlemen,
Your most Obedient humble Servant
EYRE COOTE.

HEAD QUARTERS,
3*rd Jan*^{y}, 1761.

On January 4 Eyre Coote wrote: "I have the pleasure to inform you that a ship appeared this morning which we take for Admiral Stevens, whom every body gave over for lost." It was Stevens, who had in his flagship stood out early to sea. "Admiral Cornish with his division arrived; the dismasted ships got up jury masts, and we had, by the 15th, eleven sail of the line." Pondicherry was again closely blockaded. "Our damages by land were soon repaired," wrote a soldier at the time.

On December 24 there remained in the magazines but four pounds of rice for every officer and soldier: on January 14, 1761, there did not remain a sufficient supply of this scanty provision to last two days more. On the morning of the 16th—fifteen years from the day when Clive fled from Madras in disguise—Pondicherry surrendered, and the grenadiers of Coote's regiment marched from the camp and took possession of the Villenore Gate. In the afternoon the garrison drew up under arms on the parade before the citadel, the English troops facing them. All wore the face of famine, fatigue or disease.

"The grenadiers of Lorrain and Lally, once the ablest bodied men in the army, appeared the most impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every service; and it was recollected that from their first landing throughout all the services in the field,

and all the distresses of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the English colours." [1]

The French troops, after Eyre Coote had inspected the line, marched into the citadel, where they deposited their arms in heaps and surrendered prisoners of war.

The fall of Pondicherry marks the extinction of the power of France in India. On March 9 John Call wrote to Clive from Madras: "I am myself occupied in plans for the destruction of French power. Mahde has surrendered." [2] In April, Gingee, the scene of so many gallant contests, also surrendered. On May 3 John Call wrote: "The conquest of Gingee and the expulsion of the French has restored entire tranquillity to the Carnatic coast. A month or six weeks will complete the destruction of Pondicherry." [3] The English treated Pondicherry as Lally, acting according to the commands of the Court of France, treated Fort St. David and Madras. The fortifications were blown down and the houses demolished. In the Madras Records there is the following grim entry:

"That notice was given to the inhabitants of Pondicherry that they are permitted to pull down their houses, provided they carry materials to Madras, Cuddalore, or Fort St. David."

On July 27 Sulivan wrote to Pitt from East India House:

"I will not take up Your time in demonstrating that the French Company have been the Authors of their own Ruin, nor attempt to prove we were even ready to make Peace upon Terms of a general Restoration of Teritory to the Indian Princes, resting satisfied, as become a Merchantile Body, with the Protection of Commerce—What I shall offer to your consideration are my private Sentiments of a Plan that may best secure to us solid and permanent advantages and such I believe will appear to be the Sense of our Company.

My Dear Sir will be confined to our Mercantile Interest, we ought not, we cannot look farther, Governm^t may—The Reduction of Pondicherry has given us entire Possession of the Chormandel Coast—In a Commercial light the advantages can never be very extensive, there are but few Manufactures & no Ports; the great benefit then must arise from Possession of Countries either by Cession or Usurpation, whose Revenues must maintain Armies and draw Riches to

[1] Orme. The Memoirs of Lally state that "the inner fort" surrendered the next day.

[2] Powis MSS.

[3] *Ibid.*

Europe, This Doctrine M^r Dupleix in his Memoirs avows, He goes farther and declares that no Trading can Support itself unless they adopt similar Measures, But if I could not clearly confute his Reasoning I should wish our Trade to India at an end. In Bengal we have a solid Extensive and valuable Commerce, this Kingdom vegitates all the Salt Petre carried from India to Europe, and this such an object of Government, that the East India Company by Charters are obliged to furnish 500 Tons Annually, The Territories granted the Company and Provinces abounding in Manufactures, and Tillage, whose Revenues are great & encreasing, We have a perpetual Grant of the Salt Petre but the Dutch have, and the French may have what Quantities they desire. * * * * * It is most earnestly entreated that the Company may hold all their Possessions in Bengal and that the French may be for ever excluded; The Concessions that Undoubtedly must be made, I beg may be upon the Chormondel Coast, where we have enough to satisfy even French Ambition, But perhaps Sir you may think the Restoration of Pondicherry with all the Settlements and Territories they possessed in 1745, Adding Mahie upon the Malabar Coast will be an Equivalent for Charnagore as also Bencoolen if not retaken, It certainly is so, if more should be added, I hope it will be the Southward of Madrass." [1]

On October 5, 1761, Pitt waited on his Sovereign, and gave up the seals because the Cabinet would not agree to a declaration of war against Spain. Sulivan wrote to Clive on November 18:

MILE END GREEN,
18^th *Nov.*, 1761.

SIR,—I have had the favour of Your Letter by Capt^n Webber, it reached me in the time of my attending the House which ended yesterday & this is the first hour of my looking towards other business.

A Return of Your disorder has given Your Servants Concern. I hope it will be of no duration.

Your Assistance will be very much wanted in furnish^g Matter for a Reply to the Dutch Memorial transmitted from the States & sent us by his Majesty, its very strong and very prolix, We shall also be in want of all Vouchers (to support Facts) that may be in Your Possession.

When^r it was in my Power last Year to offer You a good Voyage for any Friend You might Name I did it with pleasure. but could I be influenced by any other Motive than my Regard for Col: Clive? and if so, why do You ask me *if the same Reason subsists*—

It is some time since that Applications have been made to me some of whom from heavy Losses claim our assistance; these then are prior Engagements so far as I may be able to serve them, but

[1] Powis MSS.

if Captn Webber shd be taken up next Year which is doubtfull (on viewing the number of Ships in turn before his) I certainly will take all the Care I can of him—With sincere Wishes for an establishmt of Your health—

I am
Sir,
Your most obedt frd
LAW. SULIVAN.

After some Contest it was carried to hear my Petition at the Bar of the House—

SIR,—Since closing this Letter I have seen Mr Jones, who has explain'd to me sufficiently to make me comprehend Yours, he will impart to You the falsity of those Assertions that have been thrown out against me. [1]

Clive wrote a long memorandum in reply to the Dutch Memorial, and supplied Sulivan with the papers he required. He also pressed on Sulivan, in a manner not always diplomatic, the claims of the military officers who had served under him in India. Forde, Carnac, Caillaud and Knox had rendered great service to the State, and he was bound to them by the ties of gratitude and friendship. Sulivan wrote to him from the East India House, March 11, 1762, protesting that he had done his best in the matter of Knox, and had taken particular pains to secure the promotion of Carnac. But Clive had somewhat impetuously written to Forde that "If I do not get you a Colonel's or Lieutenant-Colonel's Commission, and an appointment of Commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, I will from that instant decline all transaction with Directors and East India Affairs." Sulivan, however, refused to advance Forde, whose claims were great, at the sacrifice of Eyre Coote, whose eminent services on the coast demanded recognition. It was impossible for two men with the tempers of Clive and Sulivan to agree. They behaved to one another, as Clive put it, "like shy cocks—at times outwardly expressing great regard and friendship for each other." The bitter party strife of the hour soon caused the mere outward expression to fade away.

Pitt's resignation had diminished Clive's influence with

[1] Powis MSS.

the Ministry. In May, 1762, the Duke of Newcastle resigned, and Lord Bute became head of the Treasury, with George Grenville Secretary of State. Clive admired the business faculty, the industry and courage of Grenville, and between the two men a close friendship was formed. But Clive declined to support the new administration, though pressing overtures were made to him. In writing to Carnac he observed:

"Now that we are to have peace abroad, war is commencing at home amongst ourselves. There is to be a most violent contest, at the meeting of Parliament, whether Bute or Newcastle is to govern this kingdom; and the times are so critical that every member has an opportunity of fixing a price upon his services. I still continue to be one of those unfashionable kind of people who think very highly of independency, and to bless my stars, indulgent fortune has enabled me to act according to my conscience. Being very lately asked by authority, if I had any honours to ask from my sovereign, my answer was, that I thought it dishonourable to take advantage of the times; but that when these parliamentary disputes were at an end, if his Majesty should then approve of my conduct by rewarding it, I should think myself highly honoured in receiving any marks of the royal favour." [1]

No political or personal feeling could deter Clive from his constant objects—the firm establishment of British dominion in India, and the welfare of the people brought under its rule. He knew that Bute was most anxious for peace, and he was afraid that concessions might be made to France detrimental to British supremacy. In September he wrote a memorandum which he forwarded to Bute. The original manuscript,[2] like the original draft of his letter to Pitt, shows that his method of composition was slow and toilsome, his care and corrections as to matter and style endless. But the style always revealed the man. In clear and forcible words Clive discusses the policy of Dupleix for the extension of French power.

"Dupleix engaged in the contentions of the princes of the country, and had, at one time, in a great measure, obtained his aim. There remained nothing to complete it but the expulsion of the English out of Hindustan. We were at that time wholly attached to mer-

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., pp. 204–5.

[2] The original paper is entitled, "Memorial as to the East Indies, by Lord Clive."

cantile ideas ; but undoubted proof of M. Dupleix's projects obliged us to draw the sword, and our successes have been so great that we have accomplished for ourselves, and against the French, exactly every thing that the French intended to accomplish for themselves and against us." [1]

We were successful, but two dangers menaced our security: (1) The possible readmission of the French ; (2) The possible disarmament of ourselves. If the French must be readmitted, it must only be under strict conditions. Among the Powis documents there is an important paper giving " Sentiments of the Secret Committee concerning terms of a Treaty with France." It is under date September 4—four days after Bute received Clive's memorandum. This memorandum first discusses the causes that led to the long struggle between the French and English for the possession of Indian trade. The following recommendations are then made :

" That the French recognise Mahommed Ali Khan as Nabob of the Carnatic ; that none of the princes acknowledging him shall be molested ; that Salabut Jung be recognised Subah of the Deccan ; that all settlements possessed by the French in 1744 be restored to them ; that the French shall not resettle in Bengal."

Among the Powis MSS. there is also another memorandum by the Secret Committee, under date September 29; this after recapitulating some of the former arguments, states that the only conclusion which can safely be made in addition to those previously suggested is that Masulipatam should be considered neutral, subject to the sovereignty of neither party.[2] Sulivan had written to Pitt : " But never reconcile to our Honour Justice and good Policy the injuring our Nabob Mahomet Ally Khan in any shape whatsoever," and Bute, consulting his friend Sulivan, adopted the suggestions of the Secret Committee in the preliminary treaty. By accident Clive heard what had been done. To allow that the French had a voice in the recognition of the titles of Indian princes meant restoring to them, in a large degree, their former status

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., pp. 206–7.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 208. Malcolm makes no mention of the second Memorandum, and the proposal to make Masulipatam neutral.

in the politics of Southern India. Great embarrassment and danger was bound to arise. Clive at once exposed the evils of the proposals to the Under Secretary of State, and Bute consented to the clauses being altered and amended. But the alterations were of no material importance. In the definite treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763, the article relating to the East Indies was as follows :

Article XI.—" In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories, which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. His most Christian majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war, and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanoully, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored ; he engages farther, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Soubah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic ; and Salabat Jing for lawful Soubah of the Deckan : and both parties should renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed on the one side or the other, during the war." [1]

Clive strongly disapproved of the amended article, and he voted with the minority in the House of Commons who condemned the peace. The anger of Bute was thoroughly roused, and he determined to check the ambition and punish the opposition of Clive. In Sulivan he found a ready instrument. Clive now realised that he could no longer hope to carry out great reforms in the administrative system of India by ministerial influence. He knew by experience the necessity of improving and strengthening the Civil Service which had now begun to be formed from mercantile clerks, and he recommended that young men of ability should be sent out in larger numbers. He urged the importance of maintaining a strong military force. He did what he told Vansittart—he wrote to urge the Directors to apply to His Majesty for commissions of Major-Generals for the Governors of the Presidencies, in order

[1] Grose, Vol. II., pp. 477–8.

that they should have a control over the King's military officers. But Sulivan sought by every means to counteract this proposal. It became clear to Clive that he must have weight in the home administration if any of his reforms were to be carried, and that the authority of Sulivan—the Great Dictator—must be destroyed.

The constitution of the Company lent itself to Clive's campaign. It had been framed for an association of traders. In order to have a fair representation at their business meetings everyone who was registered as the possessor of £500 of stock belonged to what was called the Court of Proprietors, and had a right to vote at their meetings. From the Court of Proprietors were elected twenty-four members whose stock exceeded in value £2,000, and who formed the Court of Directors. From them were chosen a Chairman and a Deputy Chairman. The Chairman presided over the meetings of both Courts during the year, and was vested with considerable administrative power and patronage. A member of the Court of Directors was eligible for re-election at the end of his year of office if he had not served as a Director for four years, when he could not be re-elected until he had been one year out of the directorate.[1] It was incumbent on the Directors to convene four General Courts of Proprietors in the year. They could convene other Courts more frequently if necessary, but they were bound to summon a Court of Proprietors if requested by nine Proprietors qualified to vote. The Proprietors qualified to vote had considerable authority over the Directors, whom they appointed and retained. They were empowered to enact laws and regulations for the administration of the Company's affairs at home and abroad. They had the important privilege of adjusting the dividends to be paid to the shareholders. Ministers, merchants, shipowners, tradesmen in the City, lawyers, divines, invested in India stock because it gave them a vote in the adjustment of the dividends, and an influence in the exercise of patronage by the Directors, who made all appointments of

[1] Peter Auber's "Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company," p. 197.

writers, officers, cadets, surgeons to the several governments in India. By the constitution of the Company at the time, the Proprietor of £5,000 had only one vote at the Court of Proprietors, the same as the Proprietor who had invested the qualifying sum of £500. This led to " the mischievous practice of making collusive transfers," or splitting votes, as it was called.

The Directors had to be chosen between March 25 and April 25 every year. Sulivan could not be chosen in 1762 because he had been four years in office, and, when the election of 1763 approached, Clive determined vigorously to oppose him and his party. He purchased £100,000 worth of stock, and divided it into £500 shares among those who were bound to vote as he wished. Clive considered that by the votes of these two hundred Proprietors, and the support of the aristocracy, the professional classes and those that had served in India, he was certain of victory. Writing to Vansittart on March 19, 1763, he informs him of the decided majority his party had " upon the holding up of hands " at a quarterly meeting of the Court of Proprietors, and he proceeds to say :

" Our cause gains ground daily, I should think we shall be stronger at the election than we were in the General Court. However, this time only can show, and I do not choose to be very sanguine, our opponents being very active." [1]

He informs Vansittart :

" I have no thought of ever accepting the Chair ; I have neither application, knowledge, nor time, to undertake so laborious an employ. I shall confine myself to the political and military operations ; and I think I may promise, you shall have a very large military force in India, such a force as will leave little to apprehend from our enemies in those parts. . . . . More of this by the latter ships, when we see the event of the thing." [2]

The " event of the thing " proved a grievous mortification to Clive. Sulivan numbered among his supporters many of the richest merchants and bankers in the City, who were well able to manufacture votes. He had also the support of the

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., p. 213. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 213–14.

united strength of the whole Ministry. At the election in April, when Directors were balloted for, Sulivan and his party were elected by a substantial majority.

The victors lost no time in taking their revenge. The 5th Paragraph of the Company's General Letter to Fort William, dated April 27, 1763, contained the following commands:

"With respect to the Jagueer given by the late Nabob Jaffier Aly Khan to Lord Clive arising out of the Lands granted by the said Nabob to the Company, we direct that you do not pay any further Sums to the Attorneys of Lord Clive on that account, and We further direct that whatever shall arise in future from the said Jagueer be carried to our Credit; You are to cause exact Accounts to be made out and transmitted to us not only of what shall so come into our Cash, but also of all the Sums Lord Clive's Attorneys have already received on the said Account together with the Dates of the Several Payments. His Lordships pretensions to the said Jagueer will be Settled here." [1]

Clive was immediately informed of the contents of the paragraph. On April 28 he wrote to Vansittart:

"Last night I received advice that the Directors had sent orders to their President and Council of Bengal to pay into their cash the amount of my jaghire, and not to grant me any bills of exchange on that account." [2]

He requested him to act as his attorney, if he should judge it not improper.

"Upon the whole, act like an honest man, and a man of honour: do justice to your friend without injuring the Company; for I am satisfied, the more this affair is inquired into, the more it will be to my honour." [3]

Clive also wrote the same day to Carnac, asking him to act as attorney provided Vansittart should decline it from his being Governor, and he requested him to obtain from the old and new Nawab an acknowledgment of the right to the *jaghire* in the strongest terms. He gave the definite instruction that:

"In case the Governor and Council should retain my money, or refuse giving bills of exchange, you (or whoever acts as my attorney)

[1] Powis MSS. [2] Malcolm, Vol. II., p. 225. [3] *Ibid.*

are immediately to commence a suit at law against the Company, and to transmit a very exact account of all your proceedings, that it may be taken up in England." [1]

He also addressed a letter to the President and Council "forbidding them to comply with the orders sent them at their peril." In his letter to Carnac, Clive mentions that "the opinion of the lawyers is, that the Directors' orders are illegal." Charles Yorke, then Attorney-General, who had been counsel for the East India Company, and Fletcher Norton, the Solicitor-General, gave their opinion that the Directors had no case; that the Company's tenure of the Zemindary rested on the same ground as Clive's to the reserved revenue. Clive, fortified by legal opinion, applied to the Court of Directors for a copy of their proceedings relating to the *jaghire*, and he filed a bill against them in Chancery. It was generally expected that the next step to be taken

"will probably be a Commission to issue out of the said Court here but to be executed in Bengal in order to ascertain the Facts insisted on: and the Constitution Usage and Laws of the Empire as far as regards this Question and for that purpose to examine and take the Depositions in Writing of the several Witnesses either Side may think fit to produce to prove or disprove the several Allegations contained in the Bill or in the Answer." [2]

But, before a Commission issued, England heard that the flame of war had been again kindled in the province of Bengal, and that a tragedy had been enacted more terrible than the tragedy of the Black Hole. The whole nation was deeply moved. The Proprietors, alarmed not only for their dividends but the existence of the Company, thought it necessary to compose their differences with Clive and to beseech him to return to India, in order, by his authority, to save their richest possession from anarchy and ruin.

On February 4, 1764, the *Lapwing* from Madras brought evil tidings from Bengal. On February 27 a special General Court was called at the requisition of nine Proprietors, for the purpose of considering the state of affairs in India. The revo-

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., p. 227. [2] Powis MSS.

lution and corruption in Bengal were specially discussed, and, at another Special Court, held on March 12, it was resolved, "that it is the desire of the General Court, that Lord Clive be requested to take upon him the station of president of Bengal, and the command of the Company's military forces there."[1] Clive, who was present at the meeting, intimated "that if the Court of Directors were as well disposed towards him as he was towards them, he should have no objection to the service; but till he found such a disposition, he desired to be excused from coming to any resolution."[2] The Court of Directors, as Clive knew, were not well disposed towards him, but they were not prepared to act openly against a strong resolution of the General Court, and on March 16 they forwarded Clive a copy of the General Court's resolution, and informed him "that they were *unanimous* in assuring him, that they would most cheerfully concur in taking the steps necessary to carry the resolution of the General Court into effect, and in preparing every convenience for his passage."[3] An election to the Directorate would soon, according to the constitution of the Company, be held, and Sulivan and his followers were naturally anxious for Clive to leave England. But Clive was determined to remain and fight at the election for his friends. On the 17th he sent the following curt reply through the Secretary: "I have received your letter enclosing a copy of the resolution of the last General Court. I must desire you will return the Directors my thanks, for their offers of preparing every convenience for my passage."[4]

At a General Court held on March 21, the Directors' letter and Clive's reply were read to the Proprietors. Clive was present. He was asked if he were inclined to declare his immediate acceptance of the offices of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal. Clive replied that "he would give his answer as soon as the next election of Directors should be determined." An attempt was then made to annul the offer. One of the Proprietors, in the interest of the Court of Directors, moved "that, Lord Clive declining to accept immediately the

[1] Auber, p. 122. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 122–3.

service proposed to him by the General Court, the Court of Directors be desired to make the proper arrangements, in the present critical situation of the Company's affairs." [1] A long debate ensued, and the motion was rejected with clamour. Clive, having declared that "he could not accept the service if the Deputy Chairman remained in the lead of the Direction," Sulivan declared in the most emphatic manner his desire to co-operate with Clive in the most honourable and friendly manner, but Clive remained firm in his resolution. He asked the Proprietors that he be allowed to give his final decision in a few days.

On March 28 he sent the following letter to the Court of Directors:

GENTLEMEN,—It was agreed at the last General Court of Proprietors, that I should have a few days to consider and determine concerning the terms upon which I would accept of the request of the preceding Court of Proprietors, to take upon me the direction of their affairs in Bengal.

Although I thought I had sufficiently explained myself on that head at the time the proposal was made, yet, as there seemed to be a disposition in many gentlemen of the Court for whom I have the highest respect, that a reconciliation should take place between Mr. Sulivan and me, so that this gentleman might still conduct the affairs at home, and that I might nevertheless venture, without fear of my reputation, abroad, I thought the respect which was due to those Proprietors, the duty I owe to myself, and the regard I shall ever feel for the interest of the Company, all called upon me, in the strongest manner, once more to revolve in my mind the possibility of such an union, consistent with the services I would endeavour to render the Company, and consistent with that attention which is due to my own honour.

This I have endeavoured to do in the coolest and most dispassionate manner, after laying aside every prejudice, and judging only from the constant experience of things.

Upon the whole, I still continue to be of opinion, that, in case the Proprietors think it for their advantage that Mr. Sulivan should remain at the head of the Direction (or, as he was pleased to term it himself, should continue him in the lead of their affairs), I cannot accept their service: but in case the Proprietors should not think it necessary to continue Mr. Sulivan in such authority, I am willing and ready to accept their service, even supposing the next advices should pronounce their affairs in Bengal to be in

[1] Auber, p. 123.

as desperate a condition as ever they were in the time of Suraja Dowla.

Should a Direction be settled with whom I can *possibly* co-operate, everything will be easily adjusted, since I have no interested views in going abroad.

At the same time, I never desired, or even wished, to name a Direction, as some industriously spread abroad; I only object to one man having the lead in the Company's affairs, in whom I have so often and publicly declared I never can place any confidence, and who, in my opinion, has acted, and does continue to act, upon principles diametrically opposite to the true interest of the East India Company.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CLIVE.

BERKELEY SQUARE,
March 28th, 1764.[1]

On April 12 [2] the annual election took place, and, after a strenuous contest, Sulivan succeeded in having elected twelve out of the twenty-four Directors, including himself, and Clive's friends gained the remaining twelve. Next day the new Chairs were chosen, and Mr. Rous, a staunch friend of Clive, was chosen Chairman, and Mr. Bolton, also a supporter, was nominated Deputy Chairman.

On April 19 Clive had, at their request, an interview with the new Court of Directors, and expressed his views generally on the political, commercial and military affairs of the Company. Mr. Spencer, a Bombay civilian, had been appointed second in Council at Bengal, with succession to the Governorship, and Clive declared he could not proceed to Calcutta unless his appointment were cancelled, as it would lead to the resignation of several of the Bengal Council. He also expressed a firm opinion that it would be most improper for him to go to Bengal as Governor whilst the lawsuit relating to his *jaghire* was pending. He had, at one of the General Courts, proposed a compromise—that he should hold the *jaghire* for ten years, or till his death, if it happened within that period, and it should then become the property of the Company. On the 27th he had another interview with the Directors, and he

[1] Auber, pp. 123–5.
[2] Auber states, April 12. Malcolm states, "On the 25th of April, 1764."

informed them he was ready to accept the Governorship of Bengal, although his offer as to the jaghireship was not accepted. He then addressed the Court at considerable length, and submitted various suggestions which he considered would promote the interests of the Company. The Court of Directors, on that day, cancelled Mr. Spencer's nomination to the Bengal Council, and reappointed him to Bombay.

The same day Clive wrote thus to the Court of Directors :

" In obedience to your commands, I now transmit the purport of what I had the honour to represent to you by word of mouth at the last Court of Directors, with some other particulars which slipped my memory at that time.

" Having taken into consideration your letter sent me by the Secretary, as also the request of the General Court of Proprietors, I think myself bound in honour to accept the charge of your affairs in Bengal, provided you will co-operate with, and assist me in such a manner that I may be able to answer the expectations and intentions of the General Court.

" As an individual, I can have no temptation to undertake this arduous task, and nothing but the desire I have to be useful to my country, and to manifest my gratitude to this Company, could make me embark in this service, attended as it is with so many inconveniences to myself and my family. I cannot avoid acknowledging that I quit my native country with some degree of regret and diffidence, on leaving behind me (as I certainly do) a very divided and distracted Direction, at a time, too, when unanimity is more than ever requisite for the carrying into execution such plans as are absolutely necessary to the well-being of the Company."

He then entered into " a short discussion of your political, commercial, and military affairs in Bengal." He was opposed to any extension of territory as long as it could be avoided, for " if ideas of conquest were to be the rule of our conduct, I foresee that we should by necessity be led from acquisition to acquisition until we had the whole Empire against us." The Nawab of Bengal must not be allowed to be independent, for " the princes of the country must in great measure be dependent on us or we totally so on them." But he ought to be " treated with respect, and with that honour which ought to be characteristic of Englishmen in Asia as well as in Europe." The Governor, Council, and civil servants should be absolutely

forbidden to take part in the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. "As a means to alleviate in some measure the dissatisfaction that such restrictions upon the commercial advantages of your servants may occasion in them, it is my full intention not to engage in any kind of trade myself; so that they will divide amongst them what used to be the Governor's portion of commercial advantages, which was always very considerable." He bound himself "not to enrich himself one farthing by any pay or emoluments he might receive."

By a reorganisation of the army he hoped to reduce the military expenditure, which was such a severe drain on the finances of the Company. He considered

"that a force of not less than three thousand Europeans should always be maintained in Bengal, and that it should consist of three battalions of infantry, four companies of artillery, and a regiment of light horse. The force was to be organised, with the sepoy regiments, in three brigades, and for recruiting purposes there were to be two depot battalions in England."

He proposed that Eyre Coote and Forde should be rewarded by placing them at the head of these depot battalions respectively. With regard to his commission as Commander of the Bengal Army, the question as to his seniority with respect to Stringer Lawrence, who was commanding at Madras, arose, and he wrote as follows:

"To prevent dissensions, I am willing to receive a military commission inferior to General Lawrence's; but that gentleman has received from the Court of Directors so very extensive a power over all their forces in India, that the presidency at which he resides, is, in fact, little less than the residence of a Governor-General over all your settlements in India. If ever the appointment of such an officer as Governor-General should become necessary, it is evident that he ought to be established in Bengal, as the greatest weight of your civil, commercial, political, and military affairs will always be in that province. It cannot, therefore, be expected that I should be subject to have any part of the military forces allotted for that province recalled or withheld from me at the will of an officer in another part of India; or that even the presence of that officer in Bengal should, in any way, interfere with my military authority in that province. It will likewise be necessary (at least until affairs in Bengal are restored

to perfect tranquillity) that whatever troops, treasures, or other consignments may be destined from England to that presidency, shall not, as usual, be stopped and employed by any of the other presidencies at which they may chance to arrive in their passage towards the Ganges."

On April 30 Clive was sworn in as President of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces stationed there. On May 5, at a meeting of the General Court, it was resolved to grant Clive his *jaghire* on the terms he had proposed. The General Court also resolved, at the suggestion of Clive, that covenants should be entered into by all the servants of the Company binding themselves not to receive gifts, presents, or rewards in India. Clive, knowing the opposition he would meet with, desired that he should be invested with power to overrule his Council and act according to his own judgment, and on his own responsibility, if he considered the occasion demanded it. But the Directors were not willing to give this despotic power to any servant of theirs, however illustrious. A compromise was arrived at by which Clive was to nominate a Select Committee of four to act with him as President. On May 25, 1764, the Court of Directors resolved

" that, in order to restore peace and tranquillity in Bengal, full powers be given to our president and governor Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, General Carnac, Messrs. Verelst and Sykes, to pursue whatever means they judge most proper to attain the same ; but that, when it can be done conveniently, they are to consult the Council at large. However, when those desirable objects are obtained, the said extraordinary powers are immediately to cease." [1]

The question of Clive's return to India was settled. To him the kingdom which he had won for England, and had governed so well, was an object of deepest concern. To himself this return procured no advantage, but entailed a heavy sacrifice. He had declared that he should accept of no pecuniary advantage, and he was giving up the enjoyment of vast wealth. He was leaving Walcot, the country home where he gathered his friends around him ; he was parting from his children, and—the most bitter of all trials—he was leaving, on account

[1] Auber, pp. 127–8.

of her health, the faithful and devoted companion of his life. The sacrifice which he was about to make was great. But the motives which urged him to make it were without the least taint of self—noble and irresistible. The preparations for departure were soon made. He appointed, for his staff, Maskelyne, his brother-in-law, as his Aide-de-camp; Ingham, who had earned a reputation in Shropshire as a skilful physician; and Henry Strachey, who in every respect answered to Macaulay's idea of a Private Secretary—"brave and faithful, capable of executing orders punctually, of keeping secrets inviolably, of observing facts vigilantly, and of reporting them truly." He also took two or three of his servants to look after his household, and four musicians to form the nucleus of the future band of the Viceroy. To the Private Secretary Lady Clive sent the following parting instructions:

"Mr. Strachey will remember to write to Lady Clive, & let her know how my Lord does while at Portsmouth, & ever after when Opportunity offers.

"Mr. Strachey will send Lady Clive word whether one Jaffier a black Man formerly Serang to Lord Clive be on board the *Kent*, & to look at him now & then.

"Mr. Strachey will remind Lord Clive of a Lad one Riseley, who is on board the *Kent*, & whom Lady Clive would recommend to his Kindness. he was brought up a Printer, can write a good Hand, & is descended from a very worthy woman, for whom Lady Clive has a great Regard.

"History for Mr. Strachey, & to carry one to Gen^{l} Carnac.

"Lady Clive hopes if the Musicians behave well, my Lord will be kind to them, & desires to observe that Mr. Robertson has a great Genius for drawing, & may be useful on board, & in India. The Harpsichord in my Lord's Cabin is Mr. Robertson's.

	£	
Groneman . .	150	Musicians Wages per Annum.
Robertson . .	150	
Shueman . .	100	
Waterhouse . .	100	

"Mr. Strachey will examine the Books of Music, & see that the Musicians do not mislay, or abuse them, as Lady Clive hopes to see the Music come back safe, or that it will be disposed of as my Lord pleases at his leaving India.

"Lady Clive particularly recommends Mr. Rob^{t} Cox, her Cousin,

who is in the Company's Service at Bombay, to Lord Clive's notice by recommending him to the Gentlemen at Bombay.

" Mr. Periera, & his Lady. Mr. Periera is in the Nabob of Arcot's Army. He is recommended by Lady Stamford.

" Mr. John James Pritchard, recommended by Lady Delamer.

" Mr. M^{c}Mackenzie an Officer in Monson's Regim^{t} recommended by Miss Sempill." [1]

The time came for Clive to bid his children and devoted wife farewell; and he went forth in a noble independence of spirit to destroy corruption, to check oppression, to redress grievances, and to give vigour and authority to government.

[1] Powis MSS.

CHAPTER V

1760–1764: THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

It is necessary to refer to the general course of affairs after Clive left India in order that the condition of Bengal, when he returned to take up again the government of the Presidency, may be understood. The period from Clive's departure to his return is a discreditable and corrupt epoch in the annals of the East India Company. It has created an impression with regard to our acquisition of India and the native population which exists even at this day. The statement that British dominion in India was acquired by conquest, accompanied by rapine, is insistently kept before us with little variation. The story of the inevitable gradual expansion accompanied by civilisation has yet to be worthily told. The evils wrought by a band of traders during the transition period between Mohammedan despotism and British government are remembered, while the feats of civilisation, such as the extinction of human sacrifice, the rescue of infants from the Ganges, widows from the flames, and the child-wife from the miseries of perpetual widowhood, are forgotten. The story of this short period of cupidity and corruption has been told by contemporary writers, but the epoch lends itself to colouring, and the facts have not always been recounted in good faith without choice and selection.

Clive foresaw the great evil which endangered the prosperity and safety of the British as the dominant political power in the three great provinces, when he wrote, on the eve of his departure, that Major Caillaud's arrival with reinforcements had "put Bengal out of all danger but that of venality and corruption." It was the cupidity which the new avenues to speedy wealth excited; it was the weakness and extravagance

of Meer Jaffier ; it was the intrigues of his heir, reckless, selfish and greedy of power, which caused Clive the gravest anxiety, and not the invasion of Behar by the Shahzada. It will be remembered how Clive sent Caillaud with a force to meet that danger, how he went to Murshidabad to overcome Meer Jaffier's objections to the expedition, and how, against his father's wishes, Meeran, at the head of a large force, joined Caillaud four days after he began his march to Patna. The invasion became a greater menace than Clive had any reason to anticipate. Soon after crossing the frontier the Shahzada heard of the murder of his father, and he proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Shah Alam II. His first act was to confirm the Nawab of Oudh as Vizier of the Mogul Empire. Many chiefs with large forces, who had hesitated to throw in their fortunes with the wandering heir-apparent to the Mogul throne, now flocked to the standard of the Mogul Emperor.

Shah Alam advanced rapidly against Patna, and under the walls of the city defeated Ram Narain with considerable loss. A detachment of British sepoys and the three officers present were cut to pieces in covering his retreat. The company of European infantry and a detail of artillery—numbering together only 70 men—and a small body of sepoys by their cool and daring action made good their retreat to Patna. When the only officer present was killed, Dr. Fullerton, the civil surgeon of Patna, took command. The native historian writes :

"The remnant of the army was discomfited. Doctor William Fullarton, with whom the author was himself acquainted, took the command. Other officers there may have been who assisted in restoring order, but I do not know of any. One of the guns, which was lying injured on the field, they damaged and rendered useless by striking an iron spike into its eye (vent). The other gun and the ammunition waggon they took with them. Steadily, and in good order, they retired on Azimabad (Patna). As they retreated an accident happened to the gun-carriage ; the doctor, standing with perfect coolness, set it right, and then went on his way. Among the good qualities of this man, there is no doubt that firm resolve, foresight, and courage were pre-eminent."

Meanwhile Caillaud and Meeran were marching up the country, and on February 23, 1760, three days after Clive sailed, Caillaud met and defeated the Emperor and compelled him to retreat to Behar. From Behar, Shah Alam struck across the Kurruckpore hills, closely followed by Caillaud. In April the British commander was about to attack the enemy's camp when he discovered that the Emperor had burnt it and was doubling back with all speed to Patna. Caillaud immediately sent a small detachment under the command of Captain Knox with orders to hasten in pursuit of him. Shah Alam was joined on his march by Law with a small French force: Patna was again invested, and with more scientific skill owing to Law. On April 28 the enemy, after a desperate conflict, were driven from the ramparts.

The small garrison, wasted by the constant firing and attack of the enemy, worn by toil, felt that to hold the city was no longer possible. In this extremity, at noon on April 29, a cloud of dust was seen on the opposite side of the river. It came steadily on. Men were seen moving. It was an expected reinforcement for the besiegers! Stout hearts were filled with dismay. But as the cloud approached nearer, it was seen to be tinged with colour and to shimmer. It was the red coats of British soldiers and the glitter of British bayonets. Great was the joy of the besieged. Boats were sent to ferry the men across the river, and Knox, with an advanced party, proudly marched through the city with the British colours flying and the drums playing, and "all ranks," the native historian states, "said openly that now the English were within their walls the enemy would not dare to come to attack again." The relieving force had in thirteen days, during the hottest season of the year, marched a distance of about 300 miles. Twice had they crossed the wide Ganges. "Captain Knox himself had marched on foot the whole way as an example to his men." The following day Knox and his party made a successful sally, and two or three days later the Imperial army raised the siege.

On June 16 Knox engaged, and completely defeated, the

Nawab of Purnia, who was marching to join Shah Alam, and he was following the retreating foe when he was joined by Meeran and Caillaud, who continued the pursuit while Knox returned with his party to Patna. On the night of July 2 the mutterings of thunder were heard, vivid lightnings flashed across the sky, and the rain came down in a deluge. Meeran, finding the wind rose steadily, quitted his own tent and went into a smaller one less lofty and better fastened to the ground. According to Eastern usage a story-teller sat by his bedside to lull him to sleep by some pleasing tale, while a domestic chafed his limbs. The rest must be told by the native historian:

"God knows whether Miren really fell asleep, or whether he only waited for the angel of death with his eyes open: this much is certain, that at that very moment a threatening thunder rent the air with a dreadful crash; and the lightning of revenge and retribution, rushing down from the clouds upon his guilty head, deprived him of a life which he so little deserved. He was found dead, just as he was, upon his bed, without any motion at all having preceded his dissolution. Thus did he fall a sacrifice to the Divine vengeance. The flame that had burned that odious man, communicated itself to the servant and to the story-teller, and burned to ashes the rising plants of the existence of those two persons."[1]

In August, 1760, seventeen days after the death of Meeran, Henry Vansittart, who had been appointed Governor of Bengal, arrived at Calcutta from Madras. Holwell, who had been occupying the President's chair, had not forgotten his suffering in the Black Hole, and he had a natural animosity against all Nawabs, and a particular objection to Meer Jaffier, who had taken so prominent a part in the siege of Calcutta. Holwell, when he was about to resign the Service and leave Bengal, sent to his successor and members of the Select Committee a "Memorial" on "the present state of things at Bengal." It is a paper which deserves careful and cautious consideration.

[1] The author of the Seir Mutaqherin states that some attendants "getting silently into the tent, examined the body, and found that it had no fewer than five or six holes on the head, with six or seven streaks on the belly and back, and these last looked like so many strokes inflicted by an angry whip. On the sabre, which was close to his pillow, they discovered two or three holes, where the metal seemed to have run; but the wood of his bed towards his head was entirely rotten."

Holwell mentions with much vigour the various instances of treachery towards the English of which Meer Jaffier and his son were guilty, the secret negotiations with the Dutch, "a measure as wicked as foolish," the negotiation with the Mahrattas, "which would have proved the total destruction of the country," and the recent overtures made to the Shahzada for a separate treaty. Each charge dwells upon the uniform chain of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression which had received a check from the frequent and severe remonstrance of Clive. "Each of these charges is a violation of that treaty which put Meer Jaffier Aly Khan in possession of a government of more value than many kingdoms of Europe, supported by us at the expence of our blood, until it became a scandal and reproach to our name and nation."

When the news arrived at Murshidabad of the death of Meeran, the troops surrounded the palace, scaled the walls, invaded the sanctity of the zenana, and threatened Meer Jaffier with instant death. Cossim Ali, the Nawab's son-in-law, pacified the mutineers by paying three lacs of rupees out of his own funds as part of their arrears, and becoming security for the remainder. Meer Jaffier's remaining sons were young, and Meer Cossim was universally regarded as the unquestioned heir and the only person capable of retrieving the desperate affairs of the government.

Soon after the death of the Crown Prince, Meer Cossim wrote to Mr. Holwell letters containing strong professions and assurances in favour of the Company if by their support he could obtain the status and offices held by Meeran. These letters were communicated to Vansittart, Meer Cossim was invited to visit Calcutta, and the Nawab's consent was obtained on a pretext. Holwell states in an "Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock" that at a confidential interview Meer Cossim suggested "that if Meer Jaffier were not murdered it would never be in his power to render the Company those services which he had so much at heart." Holwell goes on to say that he expressed his horror at the suggestion, and told Meer Cossim that "unless he dropped all mention, as well as

every intention, and attempt of the measures he had intimated, the conference must end there."[1] Cossim acquiesced, but with an evident appearance of dissatisfaction. Burke has given wide currency to Holwell's story. In his speech in the impeachment of Warren Hastings he declared:

"Cossim Ally Cawn proposed to Mr. Holwell, what would have been no bad supplement to the flash of lightning, the murder of the Nabob; but Mr. Holwell was a man of too much honour and conscience to suffer that. He instantly flew out at it, and declared the whole business should stop, unless the affair of the murder was given up."

Holwell in "A Refutation of a Letter," denied, however, that the proposal was ever made. He writes: "As to Cossim Aly Khan's being desirous of assassinating Meer Jaffier, it is a charge we much doubt the truth of, as we never before heard the fact mentioned."[2]

On September 27 a treaty was signed, and by the first two articles it was agreed

"that Cossim Aly Khan shall be invested with the Dewannee,[3] be declared Chuta Nabob,[4] and successor in the Subaship to Meer Jaffier Aly Khan and enjoy all the posts possessed by the late young Nawab."

and

"That all acts of the government shall run under the seal of, and in the name of—Mhir Aly Khan; but the executive power should rest in Cossim Aly Khan; the dignity of the Suba to remain inviolable in the person of the former, with an allowance of one Lack of Rupees per mensem, for the support of his household, &c. expences."

By the third article Meer Cossim was to pay and make good the balance of the "*Tunkas*" (assignments) on the revenues of the land as adjusted. By the fourth,

"That the Company shall keep up a standing force, for the defence of the government and provinces, consisting of 8000 Sepoys, 2000 European Foot, 2000 Country Cavalry, and 500 European Horse."

[1] Holwell: "India Tracts," p. 91. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 90–1.
[3] Office. Jurisdiction emoluments of a *diwan* or chief financial minister of a state.
[4] *Chota Newab*—little Nawab of the junior Nawab.

By the fifth,

"That to enable the Company to keep up the standing force, the countries of Burdomaan, Midnapore, Chittygang, and half the annual produce of the Chinam at Sillet, shall be ceded to the Company in perpetuity."

On the night on which the treaty was signed Meer Cossim tendered a paper to Vansittart which contained a note for twenty lacs of rupees (£200,000) "payable to the gentlemen then present." Vansittart, with the concurrence of his colleagues, returned the note, "telling him that he mistook our motives for his advancement." Meer Cossim again pressed on Vansittart the acceptance of the paper, telling him

"That if we continued to refuse that favour, he should fear that the gentlemen present were not well pleased with the appointment: Mr. Vansittart, who knew his own motives, as well as those of the witness, and also of the rest of the gentlemen in the Committee, told Cossim Ally Khan, returning him the paper again, 'When you have 'paid off all the arrears due to the Company, to your own troops, 'that the peace of this country is settled, and that your own treasury 'is full; if then you think proper to make us any acknowledgement 'for the service now done you, we shall not then be unwilling to accept 'such marks as you will be pleased to give us of your friendship.' The Witness said, That the affair ended there; and he declared solemnly upon his honour, there was no stipulations made, no partition treaty, or any thing of the kind mentioned, then or after, to his knowledge, of the transaction." [1]

In the middle of October Vansittart, accompanied by Caillaud, proceeded to Murshidabad, escorted by a body of troops, with a view, as he euphemistically phrased it, of "*persuading*" the Nawab to resign his power into the hands of his son-in-law. Meer Jaffier protested vigorously against the arrangement, but, persuaded by force, he expressed himself ready to abdicate, provided he were allowed to live at Calcutta, where his life would be safe, and the handsome allowance of £120,000 a year secured for him. The offer was accepted. On the very evening of his deposition he embarked on some boats for safety, and slept near his capital protected by a strong guard of Europeans. On the morning of the 22nd

[1] Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, p. 33.

he sailed for Calcutta, taking "away as many of his women as he desired (which he did to the number of about sixty) with a reasonable quantity of jewels." [1] On the 29th he arrived at Calcutta, "and was met by a deputation from the Council and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity." A handsome allowance, as we have stated, was guaranteed to him. Meer Cossim, however, considered that 2,000 rupees a month was sufficient for the expenses of the monarch he had supplanted.

From a General Letter to the Court, November 12, 1761, we learn that Warren Hastings, who had ceased to be Resident at the Court of Murshidabad, owing to his having become a member of the Executive Council, was deputed on a visit to Meer Cossim. Among other instructions it was decided by the majority of the Board that Hastings should "demand of the Nawab to pay to the Company the sum of twenty lakhs of rupees, which he offered at the time the treaty was made him, to present to the gentlemen of the Select Committee then in Calcutta."

"Vansittart objected to it, and refused to join in it, because himself and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee did absolutely reject this offer, as he (the President) has often since mentioned, and particularly in consultation 12th January 1761. He gave it therefore as his opinion that neither the Company, nor he, nor any other person, have any just claim upon the Nawab on account of the said offer."

On arriving at Murshidabad, Warren Hastings, according to his instructions, made the request. But we discover from another dispatch to the Court of Directors that Meer Cossim "absolutely refused to comply with the demand for twenty laks, urging that he had fulfilled all his engagements, and was under no obligation to give such a sum, or any sum, to the Company or any person whatever." However, we find that on May 26, 1761, Vansittart wrote to Meer Cossim that he had received his *purwannah* or warrant regarding the pay-

[1] The native historian states that Meer Jaffier "assembled leisurely those treasures, and those inestimable gems and jewels that had been hoarding up for ages together by several ancient families and princes. . . . In short, he carried away everything precious or rich which he could recollect, or even think of."—Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. II., pp. 148–9.

ment of the Committee money, and that he would inform His Excellency when the money was paid to the Committee.[1] The £200,000, as far as we can gather from the records, was paid to the members of the Secret Committee, who were present when Meer Cossim made the offer, at different periods after a long interval. Vansittart received £58,333, Holwell £30,937, Caillaud £22,916, and the other members of the Secret Committee sums of similar substantial amounts. It does not appear that Vansittart and the members of the Select Committee were influenced by the promise of this reward in deposing Meer Jaffier. The receivers contended that these payments were tokens of friendship and gratitude, and accepted according to Oriental custom. But the large sums of money acquired by them upon this occasion for no active service rendered cannot be justified on the plea that they were free and gratuitous presents. When Meer Cossim did not renew his offer, they reminded him of it, and demanded payment of the money. On the meanness of this transaction and the dishonour of all concerned in it, it is needless to insist.[2]

Soon after Meer Cossim's accession Shah Alam again took the field. Carnac, who had recently assumed command of the Bengal troops, attacked him in a strong position, and completely routed his army. The following account of the battle was sent by Carnac to Clive:

"On taking command of the Army, I found the Nabob's Troops almost outrageous. There was immense arrear due to them, Col° Caillaud had enter'd into engagements with them which he had not been able to fulfill, & the new Nabob shew'd no disposition to satisfie their just demands, tho' the neglect thereof was the chief pretext of displacing his predecessor. I had a difficult task to bring these people to tolerable temper, nor should I have been so condescending to them, but that they had much justice on their side, & I could not venture to

[1] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 101.

[2] The Court wrote: "We cannot comprehend on what grounds the majority of the Council, contrary to the remonstrances made by the President against it, could venture to authorise Mr. Hastings to demand of the Nawab in our name twenty lakhs of rupees, upon the bare pretence that he had made an offer of that sum to Mr. Vansittart and the Select Committee at the time of making the treaty for his accession, and which had been then so properly and so honorably refused. We rejoice at the just and spirited refusal he gave to that unwarrantable demand."—Letter dated London, May 13, 1763.

leave them behind me, lest during my absence they should make an attempt upon Patna. After near a fortnight's delay they consented to accompany me, on which I directly marched towards the Shahzadah. The 15th instant We came to the Suan, a deep river on the other side whereof was the enemy ; being a good way in front of the Nabob's Troops, I thought it best to begin the engagement while they were at a distance, that in case they had ill designs as I had reason to suspect, having certain intelligence that most of their Jematdars were in correspondence with the Prince, they might not be able to put them into execution. I therefore caused the Army to cross the River in the face of the Enemy, and thanks to the bravery & good behaviour of our Troops, & the Service of our Artillery, We obtained a complete Victory. We pursued the Enemy near three Coss on the road to Bahar : observing that Mr Law covered the retreat, we left our Guns, marched briskly up to him, made ourselves masters of all his cannon to the number of eight, & he is himself prisoner with eleven other Gentlemen & forty nine Soldiers. To the honor of our Troops both European & Sepoys be it said, when they advanced upon Mr Law's battery, tho' they were wholly exposed to the guns for the distance of 400 yards, and, had they been properly pointed, must have been considerably galled by them, yet they never deigned to take their firelocks from their shoulders ; it fortunately indeed happen'd they were so much elevated that all the shot went over us. We have met with no other loss than that of a few Lascars by the blowing up of some bullock loads of ammunition, but the blast of one of the French Tumbrils did a good deal of mischief. It seems the French laid a train to it, in hopes it would catch while We were getting over the battery, but We were luckily gone on in pursuit some hundred yards before it took effect, & the whole shock was sustained by such of the Nabob's Troops as had got near our rear, who were blown up to the number of four hundred, 70 or 80 whereof died upon the spot. We have followed the Prince ever since the action, & press so close upon him, that We sometimes find the fires of his Camp still burning. He made off a few days ago into the high road by the Ganges side, and moved upwards with intent I believe to proceed by Patna to the Soane, but by crossing the Country I turned him, & have now advice of his having passed over this Nulla with much difficulty, & loss, & that having passed it he drew away from the river, & has inclined towards the hills. If I have any merit in our late affair, it is entirely owing to the lesson I have learned from You, always to push forward, & I was so happy as to have under my Command a set of people who were as ready to advance as I could be to lead them. Our actual force was 372 rank & file, 92 Artillery with eight pieces of Cannon (six 6 Pounders, two twelves) & 2 Howitz, & 1625 Sepoys : that of the Enemy is represented so large by Mr Law that I am afraid to mention it lest I should be thought to exaggerate. The Prince narrowly escaped, the Elephant on which He was mounted being wounded, & the Driver killed by a shot from the Artillery." [1]

[1] Powis MSS.

Shah Alam, sorely pressed, surrendered himself to the English. Carnac received him with the utmost ceremony, and escorted him to Patna. Here they were joined by Meer Cossim on March 1. He refused to visit the Emperor in the city lest harm should come to him, but after some negotiations it was agreed that a meeting should take place at the English factory. The Mussulman chronicler thus expresses himself:

"The day being come, the English were busy in turning their factory into an Imperial hall of audience; and a couple of those tables, whereon they take their meals, into an Hindostany throne: nevertheless the throne, as well as the hall, being spread and hung with rich stuffs, assumed a very splendid appearance." [1]

A European guard of honour was stationed outside the factory, and when the Emperor's pomp appeared in sight, the British officers and civilians "set out on foot with the Major at their head, and after meeting the Monarch, they continued to march on foot along with the moving throne." [2] The Emperor alighted at the gate of the factory, entered the hall, and took his seat on the *musnud*. In about an hour Meer Cossim arrived,

"and after having made his three bows in a respectful manner, he presented a nuzur of one thousand and one eshreffies (gold mohurs); and immediately after, he offered to the Imperial acceptance a number of qhoans or trays, covered with precious and curious stuffs, fit for apparrel; to which he added a quantity of jewels, and other costly articles. The Emperor accepted his homage, and honoured him with a qhylaat of six pieces, a chaplet of pearls, with a circlet for the head, and an aigrette of jewels adorned by black eagle's feathers; after which the Navvab made the usual bows, and withdrew into the next room."

Here he discussed the revenues of the three provinces, and he agreed to pay the Emperor a yearly tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees (£240,000). This being settled, he returned to the presence, was dismissed with every demonstration of regard, and repaired to his encampment. Shah Alam was most anxious that he should be proclaimed at once as Mogul Emperor. He

[1] Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. II., p. 170. "Hindostany throne," a *musnud* or throne of cushions.

[2] It was carried upon eight men's shoulders.

was generally recognised to be the rightful Mogul Emperor, but the Afghan Ahmad Shah, the Abdalla who had defeated the Mahrattas at Paniput (January, 1761), and destroyed all hope of Hindu supremacy, was the real master of the Mogul Empire. Vansittart wrote to Shah Alam, on March 5, that he should first obtain the consent of Ahmad Shah, Abdalla, and the nobles of Delhi to have the *khutbah* [1] read and the *sikkah* [2] coined in his name. Shah Alam, however, on reaching Patna, again expressed the wish " that he might be proclaimed and acknowledged by us, as already had been done by different powers in Indostan." [3] But Meer Cossim wrote to Vansittart requesting that Major Carnac might be directed not to yield to the request of Shah Alam with regard to the *sikkah* and *khutbah*.[4] An agreement was concluded between Meer Cossim and Shah Alam, and a copy sent to Vansittart for his advice.

Shah Alam now announced his intention of marching to Delhi, and Meer Cossim, who was anxious that he should be out of the range of British influence, agreed to pay half of the yearly tribute, and to proclaim him king as soon as he passed the frontier of the province. Early in June, Shah Alam marched from Patna, escorted by Major Carnac with a large portion of the British force. On June 21, 1761, Carnac wrote to the Governor and Council :

" His Majesty crossed the Caramnarra this morning. . . The accompanying is a copy of two arzees (petitions) I presented to him last night, with the answers he wrote in the body thereof with his own hand in the presence of Messieurs Lushington and Ironside as well as myself."

Carnac " humbly " petitioned

" that your Majesty will be pleased to order, that sunnuds be granted for all the zemindarrees and factories of commerce belonging to the Company in the empire of Indostan ; at Calcutta in the Subah of Bengal and Madras, and Bombay, and the port of Surat in the districts of Deccan."

[1] *Khutbah*, a public prayer or discourse pronounced in the mosques at the Friday's service, in which the ruling prince is prayed for.

[2] *Sikkah*, the designation of the silver currency of the Emperors of Delhi, and a chief emblem of sovereignty.

[3] Report of the House of Commons : Colonel Coote's evidence.

[4] Calendar of Persian Correspondence.

He also begged that a "sunnud after the usual form be granted for the confirmation of the jagheer of Colonel Clive." Shah Alam wrote as follows:

"Whenever the petition for it (the arzee) is sent in form, and the peshcush [1] delivered to the royal Sircar, the petitioned sunnuds we will graciously grant. Besides this, in consideration of the services of that servant, the Dewannee of the Subah of Bengal, on condition of paying the Malguzaree,[2] according to the former amount, and a suitable peshcush shall be granted." [3]

The Diwani of Bengal not only conferred on the holder the duty of collecting the revenue, but also invested him with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial cases. The acceptance of the office by the Company was bound, as the Board wrote, to "be a source of perpetual contest and ill-will with the Nabob." They did not reject it on that ground, as it has been so often stated. They resolved that "lest such an appointment might at any time hereafter be thought advantageous, we will for the present defer coming to any resolution thereon; and only write the King in answer, that we shall soon send our requests in form."

It will be remembered that Meer Cossim was one of the chief persons who, by false charges, persuaded Eyre Coote that it was necessary to deprive Ram Narain, the Naib or deputy Nawab of Patna, of his office, and how Ram Narain was protected by Clive. Meer Jaffier and Meer Cossim hated the Hindu governor because he proved a faithful ally of the British, and Meer Cossim considered that the time had now come when he could deprive him of the government and obtain possession of the balance of his revenues and his private treasures, which were supposed to be very great. Meer Cossim demanded a statement of Ram Narain's accounts, which were three years in arrears, owing to his country having been regularly overrun

[1] *Pēshkash*—P. Lit., what is first drawn. A fine or present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or assignment of revenue, or a renewal of the grant or like.—Persian Correspondence.

[2] *Mālguzārē* (A.P. *māl*, property, land revenue; and *guzārī*, the act of paying a debt or fine), revenue assessment; the payment of land revenue: also the person or land subject to such payment.—*Ibid.*

[3] Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I., p. 259.

by hostile armies. He had already squeezed other Hindu grandees under pretence of making them account for their balance. It was a favourite pretext with Oriental monarchs before force and torture were applied. The Nawab represented to Vansittart that he could not satisfy the pecuniary claims of the Company until he had recovered the money from Ram Narain. On February 9 the Select Committee wrote to Carnac that he was "to protect Ramnarain against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honour or fortune," but in the same letter they requested Carnac that he would "give the Nawab all the necessary assistance" with regard to an examination of accounts which he demanded from the Deputy-Governor of Behar. Carnac realised the meaning of the "necessary assistance." He wrote that he was willing to support the Nawab "as far as he means to act fairly; but should he expect any support from me in acts of injustice, he will be much mistaken. The English forces, while I have the honour of commanding them, shall never be employed as instruments of violence and oppression." As to their instructions in regard to Ram Narain, it would afford him the greatest pleasure to protect a person "for whom I know Colonel Clive had a particular regard, and who himself deserves much at the hands of the English, on account of the attachment he has all along shown them, however ill he might be disposed to the Nabob." But there was no mention of government. Carnac wrote to the Select Committee, April 13, 1761:

"I am directed, Gentlemen, by your letter, under date the 9th of February, to protect Ramnarrain against all violence and injustice that may be offered against his person, honour, or fortune. If you do not mean to include in these the continuance of the subahdarree to him, it will be impossible for me to comply with your directions; and the moment that all power is taken from himself, he will be reduced to the necessity of seeking an asylum elsewhere, from the oppression of the Nabob." [1]

[1] Major Carnac, in his evidence before the House of Commons, said: "The second order the Governor and Council gave me was to deliver up Ramnarain, which I absolutely refused."

This letter was read at a Consultation held at Fort William, April 21, 1761. Eyre Coote had arrived from Madras, and was about to proceed to Patna to assume command of the Bengal army, and the same day the Select Committee instructed him to secure Ram Narain "against all attempt at oppression or injustice, and further that the government of Patna be preserved if it is his inclination to continue in it." There is, however, an entry in the Calendar of Persian Correspondence, under the date April 29, which records that Vansittart wrote to Meer Cossim that he had received the Nawab's *purwannah* (order) acquainting him that he had dismissed Ram Narain and appointed another man in his place. In another letter, written the same day, he "assured His Excellency that the Colonel will obey him." The fiery Eyre Coote was hardly the man likely to obey the Nawab. Meer Cossim might dismiss Ram Narain, but until he got possession of his person, which was guarded by British sepoys, he could not deprive him of his treasures. Eyre Coote informed the House of Commons that, after the Shahzada left Patna, Meer Cossim

"turned his thoughts intirely towards the seizing of Ramnarrain, for which, if I would give him up, he offered me seven lack and a half of rupees, and whatever I pleased to the gentlemen of my family; this I communicated, by letter, to the governor and council of 17th July, 1761." [1]

Offers of a similar nature were made to Carnac and refused. "The Nabob finding he could not gain his point," Eyre Coote added, "with regard to Ramnarrain, then thought it necessary to write the Governor, Mr. Vansittart, the most scandalous invectives, and false accusations, against me."

Ram Narain, on his part, thought it necessary to spread the most scandalous invectives and false accusations against the Nawab, in order to influence Eyre Coote. Between a Mussulman Nawab and a Hindu Governor it would be unwise to attempt to decide the merits. Ram Narain is accused of having spread the report that Meer Cossim intended to attack the city on the night of June 16. The night passed without

[1] Report of the House of Commons: Colonel Coote's evidence.

any sign of hostility, and the next morning Eyre Coote proceeded to the Nawab's camp accompanied by a troop of horse and a company of sepoys. On arriving there he was told the Nawab could not be seen:

"I went into the outer tent, taking pistols in my hand for my own security, and sat down there till I should hear further:—As it is a custom in India, when they mean ill to a person that visits them in camp, to cut the tent cords, and let the tent fall on the person they mean to destroy, I desired Captain Iser to place two of the troopers round the tent, to prevent any mischief of that kind; and finding the Nabob would not see me, I rode away."

The following is the account of the incident which Meer Cossim sent to Vansittart:

"This morning Mr. Watts entered my private apartment, which is near the Zenana, calling out, 'Where is the Nabob?' and then stopt. After him Colonel Coote, in a great passion with his horsemen, Peons, Seepoys and others, with a cocked pistol in each hand, came uttering God-dammees into my tent. It so happened, that I was asleep in the Zenana, and none of my guards were present. How shall I express the unbecoming manner in which the Colonel went about from tent to tent, with thirty-five horsemen and two hundred seepoys, calling out, 'Where is the Nabob?'"

The story told by Meer Cossim may be disregarded. The Nawab attributed the incident to the intrigues of Ram Narain:

"This base man is ungrateful, treacherous, and intent only on mischief; and to support such a wicked man, who has not any fear of God, and has even forgot himself, is to give cause for continual animosities."

Vansittart yielded to the clamours and threats of the Nawab; Carnac and Coote were recalled, the guard of sepoys at Ram Narain's house was withdrawn, and he was left to the tender mercy of an Oriental despot with the worthless stipulation that he should be exempted from ill-usage. The ire of Clive was roused when he heard of the violation of a solemn pledge, and he declared that no Hindu in the three provinces would again have any faith in the guarantee of the British Government.

The offer of the Diwani inflamed the jealousy of Meer

Cossim. The offer had not been refused, and it might any day be accepted. The Diwani in the hands of the English would be a permanent blow to the independence of the Nawab of Bengal. He regarded the surrender of Ram Narain as an acknowledgment of the doctrine of his independence, and he determined to establish securely that doctrine by creating an efficient army. He discharged the greater number of the old Bengal rabble and enlisted in their place Persians, Tartars, soldiers of fortune belonging to the warlike races of the north. Meer Cossim introduced European drill and discipline into the force. Deserters and sepoys who had been dismissed from the English service were enlisted and distributed among the ranks to train the men in the latest military exercises. An Armenian of great ability was his Commander-in-Chief and War Minister; Maskar, also an Armenian, commanded a division of his army, and Walter Remkardt commanded a brigade under the name of Sombre or Somroo.[1] He removed from Murshidabad, which was little more than a hundred miles from Calcutta, and took up his residence at the hill fort of Monghyr, which was more than three hundred miles. Here he established factories for the casting of guns and the manufacture of ammunition and muskets of the latest pattern.

Meer Cossim, having forged an efficient instrument of war, became more disposed to vindicate his independence and dignity. The movements which culminated in his warlike action were then beginning. Vansittart was an incapable Governor, and the Council grew divided. In August, 1761, arrived the dispatch from the London Board ordering the immediate dismissal of all those who had signed Clive's dispatch rebuking the Company. This decision, together with previous retirements, led to there being a majority in the Council bitterly

[1] "The real name of this adventurer is uncertain, as is his country. By one account he was a Frenchman, by another a German and a Protestant; a third reconciles the others by making him a native of Alsace. He was originally a carpenter, and afterwards a Serjeant in the French army."—"The Rise of the British Power in the East," by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone (1887), p. 398. Broome, in his "History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army," states that he originally was a butcher, born and bred at Strasburg, who came to India in the Swiss Company attached to the Bombay Europeans.

opposed to Vansittart. The decision also caused Warren Hastings to be removed from the office of Resident at the Nawab's Durbar, where he had shown tact and moderation, to a seat in the Supreme Council. Mr. Gwire, the chief of the Patna agency, was one of those dismissed, and he was replaced by Mr. Ellis, a man of strong prejudices and ungovernable temper. He had no sooner taken charge of the agency than he was guilty of acts of unwarrantable violence which deeply wounded the pride of the Nawab, and led him to apprehend a determined attack on his independence. Early in the month of April, 1762, Warren Hastings was sent on a mission to inquire not only into the causes of the quarrel between the Nawab and Mr. Ellis, but also into the disputes which had arisen between the Nawab and the chiefs of the English factories owing to the abuse of the right of private trade.

Under Mohammedan rule in Bengal the Zemindar paid a certain sum to the Nawab as duties on internal trade, and the *gomasthas*, their corrupt and extortionate agents, exacted the utmost from the traders. Toll- and Custom-houses were erected on the roads and the banks of the rivers, at each of which goods in transit were stopped until the duties were paid and the *gomasthas* satisfied. These duties were levied not only on the silks and muslins and rich merchandise that came down the Ganges, but also on the cattle and grain and other necessities of life, and they hampered not only the general beneficial operations of commerce, but contributed to the poverty-stricken condition of the peasantry. Macaulay states that "enormous fortunes were accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness." The several millions of Bengal had been reduced to the extremity of wretchedness by the oppression of their Mussulman conquerors, by the depredations of invaders and local bandits, before the native agents of the European traders appeared on the scene and added to their misery. It was the gold and silver discovered in the palaces of the Nawabs and the Moslem nobles, it was the wealth of the Hindu bankers and merchants, whom the Nawabs nourished in order

to bleed, that excited the cupidity of the men from the western world, the mercantile servants of the Company, whose salaries were not sufficient to support them because consumed by the fever of rapid gain. An easy way of obtaining quick access to fortune was the inland trade. "The Company never carried on any inland trade," Clive told the House of Commons. "Their commerce has been confined to *Exports and Imports only*." By reason of the Mogul Emperor's firman the Company's goods, when protected by the Company's *dustuck* or permit, were allowed to pass free. The Company "allowed all those who served them under covenants, to make use of their dustucks for such commodities as belonged to themselves; but forbid, under severe penalties, the prostitution of this privilege to any others." At the onset "a question arose, whether the Company's agents were entitled to trade from one part of the province to another, in such commodities as were the produce of Bengal." [1] The Viceroy of the day repudiated the pretension with indignation, "declaring that he would not suffer the dustucks to protect any goods, excepting such as were imported, or were purchased to be exported, by sea." After Plassey Clive used to obtain from Meer Jaffier special passes for particular persons which exempted them from paying internal duties. It was an error. A privilege soon came to be asserted as a right when the influence of his strong will was removed and the machinery was worked by a weak successor. After the departure of Clive, all the servants of the Company, from the Governor to the junior writer, claimed the right of carrying on an inland trade, duty free, under the privilege of the Company's *dustuck* or pass. They claimed, as Clive stated, "a more extensive right than the Company ever had." [2] The Company had forbidden, under severe penalties, the extension of the privilege of *dustuck* to any other besides their covenanted servants. Their servants, however, were generally unacquainted with the country and the language, and they used the intervention of certain factors

[1] Orme, Vol. II., p. 25.
[2] Speech in the House of Commons, March 30, 1772.

among the natives which were called "banyans."[1] The banyan acted "for himself or as the substitute of some great black merchant." "They have knowledge of the country and its affairs," Burke told the House of Lords; "they have money, they have the arts of making money. The gentleman who comes from England has none of these; he enters into that world, as he enters into the world at large, naked." Clive described to the House of Commons the temptations that beset the path of the young writer when he landed in Bengal, "and not worth a groat."

"Let us now take a view of one of these writers arrived in Bengal, and not worth a groat. As soon as he lands, a Banyan, worth perhaps one hundred thousand pounds, desires he may have the honour of serving this young gentleman, at four shillings and six-pence *per* month. The Company has provided chambers for him, but they are not good enough;—the Banyan finds better. The young man takes a walk about the town, he observes that other writers, arrived only a year before him, live in splendid apartments or have houses of their own, ride upon fine pracing Arabian Horses, and in Palanqueens and Chaises; that they keep Seraglios, make Entertainments, and treat with Champaigne and Claret. When he returns he tells the Banyan what he has observed. The Banyan assures him he may soon arrive at the same good fortune; he furnishes him with money; he is then at his mercy."

The banyan proceeds to tempt the young writer "in the way of his profession which is trade. He assures him that goods may be had cheap and sold to great advantage up the country." The banyan employs his persuasion and his power to obtain possession of the young writer's *dustuck*, and he appoints *gomasthas* or commercial agents who under the cover of these *dustucks* conducts the trade up country duty-free. The young writer has little other share in the proceedings of his servant but in giving him the ticket of his name. "From that moment forward," says Burke, "it is the black merchant that is the master." He gives the writer "just what proportion of the spoil as he pleases." But it was not

[1] *Banyan.* The word was adopted from *Vaniya*, a man of the trading caste (in Gujarati *vaniyo*), and that comes from Sanscrit *vanij*, a merchant. The terminal nasal may be a Portuguese addition (as in *Palanquin*, *mandarin*, *Bassein*), or it may be taken from the plural form *vaniyan*.

only the servants of the Company who entered, on their private account, into the country trade. Adventurers, English, French and German, and wealthy American traders appeared on the Ganges. They bought or forged *dustucks*, and they hoisted, without authority, the British flag which was a protection to their cargo. They, too, employed *gomasthas*, and these instruments of oppression and tyranny, recruited from the lowest part of the natives of Bengal, swarmed over the country.

Macaulay, whose essays on Warren Hastings and Clive are the sole intellectual equipment of so many regarding India, writes: "Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds." The "hereditary nobility of mankind" is hardly a modest assumption. But it was not men of English breed but the Bengalee agents who pillaged and tortured the manufacturers and weavers of their own race. Besides the *gomasthas* of the Company and of private traders there arose a body of native harpies who pretended to be the *gomasthas* of the English merchants, and they dressed their retainers like the sepoys and badged orderlies of the Company. Early in the month of April, 1762, Warren Hastings, accompanied by a guard of sepoys, left Calcutta for Murshidabad, and, observing the state of the country during his journey, he laid bare and protested against the abuses which he found prevalent. In a letter to Vansittart, dated "One coss beyond Baggulpoor, 25th April," he said:

"Sir,—I beg leave to lay before you a grievance which calls loudly for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm or lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company; I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit in the Nabob's subjects to oppose them. This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habits of our sepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs. As, on such occasions, the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance, so on the other hand the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having

knowledge of the oppressions, and encourages their continuance, to the great though unmerited scandal of our government. I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed; and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions), I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, to the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation; but evidently tend to lessen each of them." [1]

Macaulay's sketch is less simple and authoritative than Hastings'. He does not attempt to portray actualities, but to paint a scene in a country which he knew superficially. The following passage has been, and is, widely read:

"They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource: when the evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil Genii rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate."

However much the people may have preferred a Hindu to a Mohammedan governor, no instance is recollected of their rising to support any native prince, to dethrone any foreign usurper, or to keep out an invader. Bengal has been the scene of frequent revolutions, but they have been due to the lawless spirit of the Mohammedan adventurers and their military followers, and the passive temper of the general mass of the people inhabiting that region. It was the same temper, as Hastings pointed out, that prevented the people from repressing the evil *gomasthas* and their armed bands dressed like British sepoys. Hastings mentions that during one of

[1] Gleig's "Memoirs of Warren Hastings," Vol. I., pp. 107–8.

his marches through the country a party of these sepoys preceded him. "Many complaints were made against them on the road, and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted on our approach, and the shops shut up from the apprehension of the same treatment from us." [1] This is a different picture from the palanquin of the English traveller, "often carried through silent villages and towns which the report of his approach had made desolate." The evils were not due, as Macaulay states, to a government strong with all the strength of civilisation, but to the absence of those appropriate laws and institutions which hinder the inherited passions of human nature. The Company then had no effective control or authority in the three provinces, and there was no certain boundary fixed between the Nawab's authority and the ill-defined privileges of the English.

Warren Hastings, after three months of anxious labour, returned to Calcutta, having accomplished nothing. The mischief grew greater and greater, and the Nawab complained loudly and bitterly of the injury done to his officers, whilst the chiefs of the factories and their agents complained of the violence and tyranny of the Nawab's officers. The following are extracts from two of their letters:

(1) *From Patna. Oct.* 7.

"At Johannabad our servants have been abused and expelled. No redress can be had. This accounts for the deficiency of your Investment. Force alone will meet the case."

(2) *From Dacca. Oct.* 8.

"The outrages of the last month have come to such a pass as almost to put a stop to business. We have written to Chittagong for a company of Sepoys." [2]

The Council at Calcutta had no desire to use force, and agreed that Vansittart, accompanied by Warren Hastings, should proceed to Monghyr and negotiate an agreement with the Nawab. On arrival there, after frequent consultations with Meer Cossim, Vansittart concluded an agreement for the

[1] Gleig's "Memoirs of Warren Hastings," Vol. I., p. 108.
[2] Powis MSS.

government of the inland trade and the suppression of abuses. The terms were comprised in nine Articles. By the first :

" For all trade imported or to be exported by shipping, the Company's dustuck shall be granted, and it shall pass unmolested, and free of customs as usual."

By the second Article, which has been so often misrepresented, it was settled that :

" For all trade from one place in the country to another, in commodities produced in the country, the Company's dustuck shall not be granted, but it shall go with the dustuck of the Nawab's Custom-houses."

By the third and fourth Articles it was agreed that the duty should be paid beforehand, and that after the dispatch of the goods nothing should be paid at any of the custom-houses or at the place of sale. By the eighth Article it was agreed that :

" The gomastahs in every place shall carry on their trade freely, and as merchants ; and shall, on no account, use force in buying or selling."

All acts of oppression or other offences which the *gomasthas* might commit should be punished by the Nawab's magistrates. The ninth Article contained regulations for the protection of the *gomasthas* against " partiality," and if any officer of the government " shall prove guilty the Nawab shall punish him in the most exemplary manner." The duties to be paid were fixed at 9 per cent., " which in fact was no remedy to the evil," Clive told the House of Commons, " because the natives paid infinitely more." A letter containing the terms of agreement was sent by Vansittart to the Nawab on the understanding that no use should be made of the agreement until he arrived at Calcutta. The Nawab, guilty of a gross breach of faith and a gross act of folly, sent copies of the letter to all parts of the country and ordered his officers to enforce the immediate observance of the regulations. The officers proceeded to stop all the English goods then in transit and to demand duty on them. The demand was resisted, and various acts of violence arose.

The Council first heard of the agreement through a Persian copy of Vansittart's letter, sent by the Nawab to one of his officers, being forwarded to them. They were naturally indignant at the total disregard of their authority, and the complaints from the factories aroused their wrath. They denied that Vansittart had any authority to make the agreement. Clive, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, stated that he did not "think Mr. Vansittart was authorised to conclude a treaty without laying it before the Council." At a Consultation held on March 1, 1763, the opinions of all the members were delivered upon the terms of the agreement. The majority decided that:

"by the firmauns and husbul hookums,[1] the English East India Company have an undoubted right to trade in every article produced in the Indostan empire, either for foreign or inland trade; and that dustucks ought to be given with any articles; and that Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn, in his treaty, has very particularly confirmed the same for the provinces under the subahdarree of Bengal."

Warren Hastings, in a minute which showed the fearlessness and strength of his judgment, recorded that:

"The privileges therefore claimed by the Company, and allowed by the government, were originally designed by both, for such a trade only as was carried on by the former; that is, in goods brought into the country, or purchased in it for exportation."

The Council next resolved, Vansittart and Warren Hastings dissenting, that the Emperor's firman entitled them to trade in all articles free from duty. The majority, however, were of opinion that a duty of 2½ per cent. on salt should be paid to the Nawab as a favour, and not of right. The eighth Article, that gave the Nawab's officers the right to try and punish English *gomasthas*, excited the indignation not only of the majority of the Council, but of the whole settlement. The opposition was based upon arguments and assertions similar to those which assailed Lord Macaulay's Black Act and the

[1] *Husbul hookums—Hasbu-l-hukm:* According to command. The initial words, and thence the title, of a document issued agreeably to royal authority by the *wazir* or other high officer of the Government.—Persian Correspondence, p. 473.

Jury Bill. The chief argument was the known oppression and corruption of the native officers. The Council, with the single exception of Warren Hastings, resolved to absolve every person employed in their service from the jurisdiction of the government.

"This, it is true," Hastings wrote, "will prevent their suffering any oppression, but it gives them a full licence of oppressing others; since whatever crimes they may commit, the magistrate must patiently look on, nor dare even to defend the lives or properties of the subjects entrusted to his care, without a violation of our rights and privileges. Such is the expedient proposed for the security of our trade, and for preserving the tranquility of the country!"

He added:

"Such a system of government cannot fail to create in the minds of the wretched inhabitants an abhorrence of the English name and authority; and how will it be possible for the Nabob, whilst he hears the cries of his people, which he cannot redress, not to wish to free himself from an alliance, which subjects him to such indignities?"[1]

Great was the anger of the Nawab when he heard that the Council had rejected Vansittart's agreement. A suspicion, not without foundation, arose in his mind that some of the members of Council were determined to depose him. On Feburary 22 he wrote to Vansittart as President, wishing to know if the Governor will make the "9 gentlemen" abide by the agreement. He understood that a number of the gentlemen intended to set up another *subahdar*. "It is of no consequence to His Excellency whoever succeeds him. He does not pay regard to matters of small importance." On March 6 the violent Ellis, hearing that the Company's goods had been obstructed, sent three companies of sepoys "to clear the Company's business—and seize all who have interrupted it." A collision took place between the Nawab's troops and the sepoys, and blood was shed. On the 14th the Nawab wrote that it was only for friendship's sake that he had put up with everything.

"Now that he is being insulted by 'servants and people of

[1] "Mr. Hastings' Minute of the 2nd March."—Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II., pp. 422–23.

no character' his patience is quite exhausted. One may by all means be friendly to one man but to be dependant upon ten people is beyond one's power." [1] The Council on the receipt of this gross insult should have at once declared war. But they were weak and vacillating, and they replied that they were sending two members of Council, Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, to negotiate a fresh treaty with him. As to the insulting epithets, they were unwilling to suppose that they were meant to be applied to the members of Council, but they insisted upon an explanation, as they would by no means suffer themselves to be treated with disrespect. Meer Cossim replied (April 2) that "With regard to his calling the gentlemen of the Council 'servants' and 'men of low character,' asks the Governor to consider whether such people as are sending sepoys to seize the officers of the *Sarkar* and creating disturbances, are of low character or not." [2]

"To add fuel to the flame he wrote the same day that he had removed all the toll-houses, and written to his officers not to take a single kaure [3] on account of duties."

In the meantime the Board had received a copy of a *sunnud* of the Nawab containing an exemption of all duties within his Government for two years and a copy of an order enjoining the strictest compliance with the terms of this *sunnud*. The Council fell into a violent fit of fury and decided that the general exemption of all the Nawab's subjects from the payment of duties destroyed the value of their exclusive privileges, and was a violation of the spirit of the treaties made with Meer Jaffier and the Nawab. But this argument did not approve itself to Warren Hastings' mind. "The Nawab," he said, "has granted a boon to his subjects, and there are no grounds for demanding that a sovereign prince should withdraw such a boon or for threatening him with war in the event of refusal." The majority of the Board decided that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should represent to the Nawab the matter,

[1] Persian Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 199.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[3] *Kaure*, Hind., Cowry, the small white shell current as money. About 5,120 cowries were equal to the rupee, or two shillings.

and insist upon his revoking his *sunnud* and collecting the duties as before.

On April 19 the Nawab wrote to the President that he had no objection to receiving Amyatt and Hay if they were accompanied by only one or two companies of sepoys. With regard to fresh negotiations, he considered that to make a new treaty every year was contrary to rule, for "the treaties of men have lives." He would, however, see what Mr. Amyatt had to propose. He wondered how the English would observe the new treaty, since they had not abided by the old: "Integrity is the most valuable quality in man," Meer Cossim remarked. "God forbid that any man should prove false and become a scorn to the world." At the same time the pious Nawab ordered the two Seths, grandsons of the great banker Jagat Seth, who was living in Murshidabad under the guarantee of the English, to be arrested and sent to Monghyr. Mr. Amyatt remonstrated, and received an angry and sarcastic retort. On May 23 the embassy presented to the Nawab the demands of the Board. On May 31 he sent an answer refusing to comply with the main provisions. The same day a fleet of boats had arrived at Monghyr laden with goods for the factory at Patna, and also with arms and military stores for the troops stationed there. The Nawab had received information that Mr. Ellis intended to capture that city by surprise, and the arrival of the arms seemed to confirm the report. He ordered the boats to be detained, on the ground that sending arms and military stores to Patna was a breach of the treaty with him. On June 8 Vansittart wrote to the Nawab stating that he and Mr. Amyatt had never said that they would not send military stores; "the only promise made was that the troops at Patna would not be reinforced." [1] The stoppage of the boats laden with arms by his Excellency could only be regarded, they added, as an act of hostility. The following day, June 9, the Council decided that if the Nawab did not immediately release the boats the mission should quit his Court. On June 13 Meer Cossim wrote to Amyatt that he would

[1] Persian Correspondence, Vol. I., pp. 224–5.

" release the boats and consent to the troops continuing to remain at Patna, provided Mr. Ellis is removed therefrom and replaced either by Mr. Amyatt, Mr. McGuire, or Mr. Hastings. If the English want war, the addressee should say so plainly, that the *dastaks* and *parwanahs* may be sent him. Has not yet been asked to give him his dismissal." [1]

Six days after the British envoy informed the Nawab that he was ordered to demand his passport if His Excellency did not release the boats. But Meer Cossim had for some time been preparing to risk the hazard of war. He had applied to Shah Alam and the Nawab Vizier of Oudh for assistance against the English; and he had concentrated his troop towards Patna. On June 21 the Embassy sent the following notes in cypher to Calcutta and Patna: " We are made prisoners as far as seizing our boats and surrounding of us can make us—the boats of arms were stopped a few miles from hence."

The next day the Nawab wrote to the Governor that he had released the boats with the muskets, but he had heard from the mission that they had received an order of the Council that the troops at Patna should never be removed. He added:

" Since Mr. Ellis has proceeded to such lengths, as to prepare ladders and platforms in order to take the fort of Patna; now you may take whatever measures you think best for the interests of the Company, and your own. I repeatedly wrote to you to release me from this business, and appoint another, but you did not even reply to me on this subject."

On June 23 he allowed Amyatt and other officers of the mission to depart, having given them " assurances of their persons and honour being safe." He, however, insisted that Mr. Hay should remain as a hostage for the safety of certain of his officers detained at Calcutta. On June 24 Ellis heard that the mission was to have left Monghyr the previous day and there was no prospect of peace being maintained. He at the same time learnt that a strong brigade under the Armenian commander, Markus, was on the march from Monghyr to

[1] Persian Correspondence, Vol. I., pp. 224–5.

reinforce the Nawab's troops at Patna. In May Ellis had written to the Council:

"Our safety lies in mastering the city by a coup de main before the Nabob gets into it; for, afterwards, it may be impracticable, and the consequence of our acting on the defensive anywhere but in the city, we have already pointed out."

He had shown that the factory was not tenable if attacked from the city, and if they quitted the factory and "took post" they would "sacrifice our surgeons and sick who reside in the city." Ellis determined to take the city by *coup de main* before the expected reinforcement arrived. The story is now best told by the two following contemporary accounts which have a great deal of historical interest:

"A Short Sketch of the Troubles in Bengal to ye 28 July 1763"

"Some disputes having arisen between the Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn & the Government of Calcutta and particularly concerning the Extent of our Priviledges as to the Inland Trade in the beginning of April Messrs Amyatt & Hay two Members of the Board attended by some Civilians & Officers were dispatched on a Deputation to Mongeer in order to settle with the Nabob such Methods of Accomodation as might reconcile the Interest of both Parties and preserve good Order & Tranquillity in the Country.

They resided there about six Weeks but during that Time they were not able to effect any thing towards the purpose of their Embassy. On the contrary jealousy & Distrust seem'd to be heightend on both Sides from the Insolence of several of the Nabobs Officers and from the unjust Authority assumed by some of the English Agents and Gomastahs in different Parts of the Country. These Circumstances aggravated the Missunderstanding to such a Degree that the Nabobs conduct seem'd plainly to indicate either a belief that We had determined on a Rupture with Him or else that he had taken a resolution of the same Nature himself. The first Instance of this appear'd in his stopping some Boats with 500 Stand of Arms going to Patna, and making a Formal Demand that our Forces should be recalled from thence and station'd about his Person at Mongeer or sent to Calcutta or otherwise that another Chief should be appointed for Patna giving for Reason that he knew Mr Ellis to be His avowed enemy.—In short the Mutual ill humour went at last so far that personal indignities happen'd between the Nabobs Officers & some of the Gentlemen of Mr Amyatt's Party & in this unsatisfactory Manner the time passed away, till at length Mr Amyatt thinking it useless to remain there any longer demanded his Dismission which being granted he left Mongeer on the 23d of June receiving such

Compliments on the Part of the Nabob as are customary on those Occasions & with the necessary passports for his journey to Calcutta and an Officer of the Court to see due Regard paid to them. Whether on his Departure the Nabob made any Declaration relative to the Matters which were the Subject of Dispute is a Circumstance not yet come to our Knowledge. The Nabob having made a Demand that Mr Hay should continue at Mongeer as a Security or Hostage for some of the principal Officers who were detained at Calcutta Mr Hay consented & Mr Gulston staid to accompany him.—

In the mean time great Preparations for War were made on both Sides at Patna and on the 24th of June at Night Hostilities were actually begun by Mr Ellis who attacked the City of Patna with the Forces under his Direction consisting of about 200 Europeans & above two Battalions of Seapoys and took it with very little Loss. The next Morning most of the Seapoys dispersed to plunder the Town & the Europeans also were rioting & rejoicing when the Nabobs troops returned about noon attacked them while in that Disorder & retook the City—Our Officers finding it impossible to reassemble the Seapoys retired to the Factory with the greatest part of the Europeans Here they defended themselves till the 26th at Night when They determined to endeavour to make their Escape by crossing the River & marching to the Northward in hopes of reaching Shuja Dowla's Dominions. They were pursued by a great Number of the Nabobs troops and attacked for three Days successively. As long as their Ammunition lasted they defended themselves and when they had no more Powder & Ball left they laid down their Arms & were made Prisoners. The Officers killed were Captains Carstairs & Perry, Lieutenants Hamilton, Parry, Downie, & M. Dowall the rest were carried Prisoners to Mongeer with Mr Ellis & all the Gentlemen of the Factory & the greatest Part of the European Soldiers to the Number of one Hundred & Fifty. This is the best account We have at present from the Reports of a Number of Seapoys & from some of the Gentlemen's Servants who have since joined our Army.

It was as before mention'd on the 23d of June that Mr Amyatt left Mongeer and on the 24th at Night that Mr Ellis attacked the City and it was in Consequence of the Nabobs finding by that Intelligence that Hostilities were thus begun at Patna that he dispatched immediate Orders to stop Mr Amyatt & his Party & in short to send every Englishman that could be met with Prisoner to Mongeer. Mr Amyatt and his Party consisting of Messrs Amphlett Wollaston & Hutchinson in the Company's Service Mr Crooke Surgeon and Lieutenants Jones Gordon & Cooper with 2 Companies of Seapoys and 20 European Horsemen were attacked accordingly in their Boats Opposite to Murshedabad on the 3d July not having the least Suspicion of such a Treachery. They were fired upon at once from both Sides of the River & the whole Party Killed or taken Prisoners. Four of the Gentlemen escaped with their lives but our Reports are so various that We do not yet positively know who they are

that have been so fortunate. Mr Amyatt We are too sure is among the Dead.—

The Factory at Cossimbuzar was at the same Time surrounded & ten Gentlemen were there made Prisoners & sent to Mongeer.

Dacca Factory was likewise attacked but there being a Considerable Number of Seapoys it was defended; however on the Enemy's retiring the Gentlemen finding their Ammunition run short and apprehending a second Attack thought it best to retire to Luckypore where being join'd by Captain Grant from Chittigong & Lieutenant Swinton with a Detachment from the Eastward they returned to Dacca & retook the Factory & took possession of the City & Districts but both City & Factory had been plundered.

On Advice being received in Calcutta of the Attack on Mr Amyatt which was the first Notice of any actual hostility it was determined to reestablish the old Nabob Meer Jaffier in the Government who was accordingly proclaimed & War declared against Cossim Aly Cawn. The Army under the command of Major Adams was ordered to proceed to Murshedabad where he arrived the 24th Instant the Enemy having made three Efforts to interrupt his March; once near the Fort of Cutwah once near Plassey & the third within the Intrenchments to the southward of the Capital of Murshedabad on all which Occasions They were defeated with very little loss on Our Side. After the last Action the Major immediately took possession of the Capital, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier was there proclaimed. The Factory at Cossimbuzar was at the same time retaken, but had been plundered of every thing.—

The Country to the Eastward as far as Chittigong & to the Westward as far as the Hills is again in our Possession. The Army is proceeding to Mongeer where it is supposed Cossim Aly Cawn will attend his Fate making what Opposition he can by his Forces on the Way thither.—" [1]

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" Continuation of the Account of the Troubles in Bengal from the 28th July to the 28th Sept[r] 1763 "

" On the 28th July Major Adams with our Army marched from Murshedabad and met with no Opposition till the 2d of August when being arrived near Sootie [2] a large Number of the best of Cossim Aly Cawn's Troops having possessed themselves of a strong post made an obstinate Stand. They consisted of 6 Battalions of Seapoys cloath'd & armed like ours a great number of our Patna Seapoys among them— They had twenty among which the Field pieces We lost at Patna and one Hundred & fifty of our Europeans were engaged by fair means or foul to serve them; and of horse they had 8 or 10,000 or more After a Battle of between 3 & 4 hours the Enemy

[1] Powis MSS.
[2] About half way between Murshidabad and Rajamaul.

fled leaving all their Guns behind them and above a hundred Boats with Provisions ammunition & Stores. We had seven Europeans kill'd & thirty three wounded.—a Hundred & twenty Seapoys killed & one Hundred & sixty wounded—After this Action near an hundred of our Europeans came over to Major Adams & a great Number of our Seapoys & Lascars.—

The army marched forward the 4th and on the 11th came to Oodah Nullah a rapid Stream which runs from the Hills into the great River about 5 Miles to the Southward of Rajamaul. The Enemy taking the Advantage of this Situation had formed a strong Intrenchment from the River to the nearest Hill two or three hundred Yards in Front of this Nullah this Intrenchment which extended about 1000 Yards was defended by an old Fort & several Batteries mounted with a large number of Cannon. Major Adams perceiving the Strength of these Works thought it best to open Trenches against them & approach in a regular Manner in Order to save his Men—Having establish'd three Batteries near the River Side, the nearest being about 350 Yards from the Enemy's Works he did them considerable damage by the fire of six twenty four Pounders & having by this Means drawn the Enemy's Attention entirely towards the Left on the 5th of Septr before Day break he attacked the hill upon their Right which was carried with little Loss by the Grenadiers of the Army & the French Company. The right Flank of the Enemy's Intrenchments being then open & exposed to Our fire a general Confusion ensued and they Abandoned the whole Intrenchments with such precipitation that some Hundreds were drowned in the River & great Numbers killed & wounded ; above a thousand Horse who in the confusion missed the Bridge of the Nullah had no way of escaping but were obliged to surrender Prisoners & having given up their Horses & Arms were dismissed. We lost on this Occasion only 4 or 5 Europeans & 30 Seapoys killed & 6 Europeans & about 50 Seapoys wounded—

The Army the same Day took Possession of the City of Rajamaul & encamped 3 or 4 Miles to the Northward of it : The Cavalry & a Battalion of Seapoys was immediately sent forward to secure the Passes of Sicly Gurry & Tillia Gubly which was done without Opposition. The flying enemy did not stop till they join'd the Camp of Cossim Aly Cawn near Banglepoor. He had possession of a very Strong Post & it was imagined would make another stand, but on the Approach of our Army He retreated to Mongeer, where it is given out that He will defend himself but it is generally thought He will either surrender upon Terms or endeavour to escape out of the Province. The last Letters from our Camp are dated the 21st Inst. when our Army was encamped near Banglepoor.—

The only authentick Account We have yet had of the Particulars of the Defeat of our Detachment at Patna on the first breaking out of this War is a Letter from Capt. Wilson one of our Officers dated the 27th July from Patna where He then was a Prisoner. He writes—

That Mr Ellis & his Council with the Approbation of Capt Carstairs agreed to attack the City early in the Morning of the 25th of June which was executed with Success and We were in entire Possession of it for 4 Hours. The Naib or Governor & most of the People of consequence having fled as far as Futtwa about 4 or 5 Miles from the City—That he there came to a Resolution to make an Attempt to retake the City & having accordingly marched back immediately He enter'd at the Waterside Gate of the Killah or Citadell & our Seapoys & Europeans being mostly dispersed in plundering not a Man would stand to their Arms so that we were intirely driven back out of the City & obliged to retire to the Factory & our Men being much dispirited and a great Desertion among the Seapoys it was found impracticable to make any stand there wherefore it was resolved to proceed to Shuja Dowlas country—That on the 26th in the Evening They retreated across the River without any Molestation and met with no obstruction till they passed Choppera about 3 Coss when they were attacked on the 30th by the Phowzdar with about 200 Men who were easily routed but he being join'd the same Evening by one Sumroo a German with 4 or 500 Seapoys from the Bougepoor country and 5 or 6 Field pieces our Party resolved to be on the defensive & endeavour to embark themselves & cross the River Dowie which separates the Nabob of Bengall's Dominions from Shuja Dowlah's—That with this intent our Party marched early in the morning down to their Boats but the Enemy marching down upon them and beginning a brisk Cannonade They were obliged to remain under Arms on the Banks of the River waiting the Attack but the Enemy did not advance any further till half an hour after 6 in the Evening & upon the first Onsett Our Europeans went to the Right about upon which every thing was thrown into Confusion & given up for Lost.—that our Loss in whole of Europeans did not exceed 50 Men and about 8 or 9 Officers among which Capt Carstairs who was killed by a Cannon Ball the 1st July—The next morning Mr Ellis with the rest of the Gentm of the Factory & all the Officers & private Men were taken Prisoners & very genteelly used by Sumroo & were all carried to Mongeer excepting himself (Capt Wilson) and four others who remained at Patna.—

These are the particulars of this most unexpected Misfortune; by a Return from Capt Carstairs dated the 30th of April the Force under his command consisted of 220 European Infantry 57 Men of the Artillery & 2709 Seapoys of which very few were Sick the Number of Officers not included in the foregoing was 27—The only Deduction that We know of from this Force was about 200 Seapoys which Mr Ellis advised us had deserted the beginning of June.—

All our Gentlemen that were carried to Mongeer were well the 16th of this Month but had been removed to Patna. however We have great hopes that Cossim Aly Cawn will be induced to release them upon the Terms that have been proposed to him.—" [1]

[1] Powis MSS.

But the hopes were not fulfilled. Meer Cossim, after staying some days at Monghyr, retreated with the main body of his troops to Patna, leaving a strong garrison to guard the fort. Before his departure he ordered several state prisoners, men of high rank—some of them his own kinsmen—to be put to death. Ram Narain was one of the victims. The native historian records: "I have heard it said that Ramnarain had been drowned in the Ganges with a bag of sand round his neck; and probably the others also were dismissed out of this world in like manner." On the way to Patna, Meer Cossim ordered the two Seths whom he had with him to be put to death, and their bodies were "exposed, under a guard of Seepoys, to beasts and birds of prey, that they might not be burned, according to the rites of their religion being Gentoos." [1] Meer Cossim also took with him the whole of his European prisoners, and he now threatened to put them to death if the British army continued to advance. On September 9 he wrote to Major Adams, who commanded the forces in the field: "If you are resolved on your own authority to proceed in this business, know for a certainty that I will cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis, and the rest of your chiefs, and send them to you." Major Adams replied:

> "It is true you have Mr. Ellis and many other gentlemen in your power; if a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment, and that they will pursue you to the utmost extremity of the earth: and should we unfortunately not lay hold of you, the vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you, if you perpetrate so horrid an act, as the murder of the gentlemen in your custody." [2]

At this time Ellis and Hay wrote a brave and noble letter to Adams and Carnac, saying "that they ought not to be attentive to them, for they must submit to their fate; and desired that no consideration of their situation should prevent the army from proceeding in their operation." On hearing

[1] Major Grant's evidence, House of Commons Report. Major Grant had been Secretary and Aide-de-camp to Major Adams.
[2] Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. III., p. 374.

that Monghyr had surrendered, Meer Cossim carried out his threat and ordered the European prisoners to be murdered.

"The bloody work was done by Walter Remkardt, a renegade, who commanded a brigade in his army under the name of Sombre, or Somroo. On the 4th of October 1763, Somroo, under pretence of giving the prisoners an entertainment the following day, procured all their knives and forks. The morrow came. He went to the house with two companies of his sepoys, and having surrounded it he sent for some of the principal prisoners, who went out and were immediately cut to pieces and their remains thrown into a well. 'The Sipahis now mounted the roof of the house, which was built in the form of a square, and fired down upon the remainder of the party, who were congregated in the centre court; those who escaped this volley sought shelter in the building, but were quickly followed by Somroo's Sipahis, and a fearful slaughter ensued; the English, driven to desperation, defended themselves with bottles, bricks, and articles of furniture; and their very executioners, struck with their gallantry, requested that arms might be furnished to them, when they would set upon them and fight them till destroyed, but that this butchery of unarmed men was not the work for Sipahis, but for *hullal khores*. Somroo enraged, struck down those that objected, and compelled his men to proceed in their diabolical work until the whole were slain.' Upwards of fifty civil and military officers and one hundred European soldiers were massacred that evening. Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon at Patna, 'whose medical skill had made him many friends,' was the only European who escaped from Patna, having a few days before received a pardon from Casim."

The butchery of Patna sealed the fate of Mohammedan rule in Bengal. The British force marched upon Patna, and on October 28 arrived close to the city. One who took part in the siege wrote to Clive:

"The morning that our batteries were to have been opened, the enemy made a Sally, and got possession of them, but were Soon dislodged with great Slaughter; in two or three days Several breaches were made—At one of which our troops entered, the besieged Standing the assault with Surprising bravery disputing the Ground Inch by Inch. They lost about two thousand Men, We nine Europeans and four hundred Seepoys, besides having a great number wounded, who have Since mostly recovered.

"Our army is marching on in pursuit of the villain, who We learn for certain, has crossed the Caramnassa, and is gone to the King's Camp in order to prevail upon him and the Nabob of Oude to assist him Should We have a few more Such actions as We have had, I doubt

much if We shall be able to keep footing in Bengal, unless Speedily reinforced with a good body of Europeans." [1]

Meer Cossim, vigorously pursued by Major Adams, crossed the Caramnassa, and entered Oudh on the 4th of December. The same day he despatched the following order:

From MEER COSSIM *to* MOOHUN LOLL.
Dated 4th *December* 1763.

Before now I wrote to You that it was not adviseable to keep alive the Englishmen whom I sent to You, & who are in Confinement under Your Charge; that You should therefore put them and their Adherents to Death, & sink them in the River, & that You should not wait for another Order, at present I am informed that You have not as yet executed my Commands. In this Matter Your Behavior has not been proper, Therefore I have sent Mahomed Burhawn, a horseman, a Servant of the Sircars. Instantly on the Receipt of my Perwana, You are to deliver those Men into his Hands, that He may put my Orders in Execution. Make not a Moments delay, otherwise the same Fate and Punishment awaits Yourself. [2]

The Europeans who were prisoners in various places were slain.

In the following April the Nawab of Oudh, accompanied by Meer Cossim and by Shah Alam, took the field at the head of an army 30,000 strong, supported by a numerous artillery.

"The confederates attacked the British entrenched position at Patna, and were repulsed by the cool courage and discipline of the British troops. They retreated to Buxar on the Ganges, eighty miles above Patna, where their vast host encamped for the monsoon. On the 13th of August Major Hector Munro, one of the true builders of our Indian Empire, assumed command of the Bengal Army at Patna."

The spirit of insubordination had been long existing among the Bengal sepoys, flushed with victory.

The 9th Battalion broke into open mutiny at a small military station, and were taken prisoners by the Marines and a sepoy battalion. Munro, who had hastened to the spot,

"ordered eight-and-twenty of the most culpable to be picked out and tried by a drum-head general court-martial, when the whole were sentenced to suffer death. The eight guns with the detach-

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

ment being brought out, the first eight were fixed to their muzzles and blown away. Here it was that three of the grenadiers entreated to be fastened to the guns on the right, declaring that as they always fought on the right they hoped their last request would be complied with, by being suffered to die in the post of honour. Their petition was granted, and they were the first executed. I am sure there was not a dry eye amongst the Marines who witnessed this execution, although they had long been accustomed to hard service; and two of them had actually been on the execution party who shot Admiral Byng in the year 1757."

On October 9, 1764, Major Munro began his march northward, and fourteen days later the two armies stood face to face at Buxar. The British force consisted only of 857 Europeans, 5,297 sepoys, and 918 native cavalry, with 20 field-pieces. Against them, drawn up in a formidable position, were numerous battalions of disciplined sepoys, eight field-pieces worked by European renegades and deserters, powerful batteries of artillery consisting chiefly of heavy guns, while the vast body of cavalry included a corps of about 5,000 Afghan horse, who had served under "the terrible" Ahmad Shah Abdali. At 8 A.M. the bloody contest began, and at sunset all was over. The confederate host, beaten from the field, were trying to force their way across an Indian stream with its wide shores of sand. "Several thousand human beings perished in this attempt, either drowned in the stream or suffocated in the sand, until a bridge 300 yards long was actually formed by their bodies, over which the survivors escaped." The Nawab Vizier fled away to the Rohilla country, Shah Alam placed himself in the hands of the English, the British forces advanced across the Ganges to Benares and Allahabad, and "then began the series of operations which closed at Gujerat, February 21, 1849, where the last stern struggle for complete dominion in India was decided." [1]

[1] "Indian Mutiny," by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E., Vol. III., pp. 395–6.

CHAPTER VI

1764–5: THE CONSOLIDATION OF EMPIRE

On June 4, 1764, Lord Clive sent from Portsmouth a few parting lines to his wife:

My dearest Wife,—God only knows how much I have suffer'd in my Separation from the best of Women, however the Necessity of the thing & your good Sense will I am persuaded operate in the same Manner upon You as it has upon me, let us look forward towards the happy day of our Meeting which I think cannot be farther distant than two Years, the Education of our Children will be a pleasing Amusement & the busy Scene in which I shall be employ'd without embarking in any more military Undertakings will greatly shorten our time of Absence.

We shall be on board the *Kent* in two or three Hours & sail immediately the Wind being fair, You may be assur'd of hearing from me by the first opportunity which I believe will be from the Cape. Adieu.

Y^r^ Affect.
Clive.[1]

The same morning Henry Strachey wrote to Lady Clive: "Agreable to Your Ladyship's Commands I trouble you with the Information of Lord Clive's Serang[2] being on board. We are just going to see the Dock Yard &c. and are to embark at One o'Clock. His Lordship is well." The sun, however, had begun to set before the ship got under weigh, and Clive, in the fullness of his powers at the age of thirty-nine, sailed again for India. He was accompanied by Messrs. Sumner and Sykes, two members of the Committee, Henry Strachey, Dr. Ingham, and Edmund Maskelyne, his brother-in-law. Colonel Richard Smith and Sir Robert Barker, who were going to Bengal to command brigades, were also on board. The voyage

[1] From Lord Clive to the Right Hon'ble Lady Clive. Portsmouth, June 4, 1764. Rec^d^ the next day.
[2] *Serang*—a native boatswain.

was not favoured by fortune, and, after having narrowly escaped being again wrecked on the inhospitable coast of Brazil, Clive reached Rio Janeiro on October 7. The following full and particular account of the voyage from England to Rio Janeiro is in a handwriting which resembles that of Strachey, and is dated Rio Janeiro, October 20, 1764 :[1]

" At this time when our good friends in England I daresay think us well advanced in our voyage to Bengal, here we are at Rio de Janeiro on the Brazil coast, not above one third of our way. The fair wind we sailed with from Portsmouth left us that evening ; at night it blew very hard from the S.W. and continued so for five or six days, so that it was above a fortnight before we could say we were well clear of the land. From this time, we'll suppose the 20th June, we went on tolerably well till the 24th July, when the N.E. Trade left us in the Lat. of 5 degrees North, well over to the Eastward. The Winds fixed at South to S.S.E. 5 S° there we were brought up suddenly by Land a head, 17 fathom water, rocks and breakers pretty near us. About Ship, and take a fresh departure from the Baxos di St Roche. The next day we lost our top-mast ; in about two days we fitted and got up another ; and in about two days more that went over board carrying the main top gallant mast with it, and doing us some farther damage. By the 15th August we had got up our third and only spare top mast. The weather was now pretty favorable, and, judging we had a sufficient Offing, we tacked, in hopes of fetching Fernambino at least, but on the 20th we were again brought up in the Latitude of 5 degrees South, Sounding 15 fathoms just the very spot where we were before. Again we stood to the Eastward, and not a little terrified by these frequent alarms of rocks and breakers, we seemed determined to make sure of it this time, for we kept on till the 8th September, when we made 17 degrees Easting from St Roche, and 3 degrees North Latitude. In this cruise we made the Island of St Paul, so very seldom seen by any ship that it is even doubted whether there is such a place by many. At Daybreak we found ourselves within two miles of it, and had not the wind failed us that morning about three o'clock, by the course we stood we must have been much nearer, perhaps on it. Sr Robert Barker has a Draft of it, of which I'll get a copy and send you from Bengal, for it is well worth your seeing. I never saw a more pleasing romantic view in my life. The rock is about half a mile long, and makes exactly like an old ruinous castle. We wished much to land, but we were short of water, and the loss even of an hour was of too much consequence to us. It lays in the Latitude of 1 Degree North and about 6 degrees East Longitude from St Roche. But how far had I proceeded with you on the voyage ? Oh ! the 8th September in the Latitude of

[1] In the MS. the date of the year is given as 1765, which is an obvious error.

3 degrees North, and about 17 degrees Easting, only 2 degrees to the South^d and about 4^d to the Eastward more than we were the 24^th July. Here we ventured to tack, and on the 14^th September once more crossed the Line. The wind coming more round to the Eastward as we advanced to the South^d we proceeded very well as far as 19 degrees South Latitude where we were by account about 6 degrees to the East^d of the coast of Brazil; here we met with a hard gale of wind which drove us so far to the East^wd that we made the Island of Trinidado the 28^th Sept^r from thence we pushed for this place where we arrived the 7^th Inst.

"A Spanish Ship will leave this place about the last of the month; this vessel weighs with the tide for certain, & we did think she would have sailed before now. I think both conveyances rather precarious. This, a Portugueze Snow, goes to Madeira only, & from thence our letters take their chance. The Spaniard indeed is bound directly to Cadiz." [1]

On October 14 Clive wrote to his wife the first of those letters which show how all his thoughts centred in her:

To our very great Astonishment and Surprise upon our Arrival at this Place we found the *Dolphin* Commodore Byron and *Tamar* Capt. Mowat who left England a Month after the *Kent*, anchor'd here near a Month before us after having staid 9 days at Madeira & 7 at S^t Iago.

The Commodore immediately waited upon me on board & brought with him my dearest Wife's most Welcome Letter nothing could afford me greater Pleasure than to find You reconciled to my Departure in a Manner consistent with that good Sense which I know You to be Mistress of, & consistent with that Superior Duty which You owe to our Children, never entertain the least Doubt of our meeting again & that soon, the latest Advices give us reason to think that every thing will be settled in India before we can arrive there, & if that should be the Case nothing shall induce me to stay in Bengal beyond the Year 1765, Maskelyne, Strachey, Myself & Carnac if alive or in India propose coming home overland but more of this when we arrive at Bengal.

I cannot help rejoicing on many other Accounts than those already mentioned that You did not accompany us to India, besides a most tedious & disagreeable Passage to this Place of more than four Months we encounter'd many other Inconveniences which would have given me great Concern on your Account especially in your then Condition, the Captain a Young Man & who had never before been a Captain had provided for us but very indifferently & without the Assistance of Hern and the Cook we should have been starv'd as it was for the last 6 Weeks we were reduc'd to poor Alice's Diet, Pork and Pease Pudding & to add still to our Misfortunes we found in M^rs —— a

[1] Powis MSS.

Woman of a most Diabolical Disposition, ignorant, ill temper'd, & Selfish to the highest Degree, she seem'd possess'd of every disagreeable Quality which ever belong'd to the Female Sex without being Mistress of one Virtue (Charity excepted) to throw into the Opposite Scale, it is with the utmost Difficulty we can behave with common Civility towards her & I would not upon any Consideration whatever You had been the Companion & Passenger of such a Woman one of the blessed Effects of this Lady's being on board was that we all Caught Cold, your humble Servant being the greatest Sufferer & which he has not got entirely the better of to this day for this Lady being cool in nothing but Body insisted that all the Doors & Windows should be kept constantly open untill the Inconvenience became dangerous and insupportable & then I was obliged to make use of some Authority in short I believe she is as heartily tired of us as we are of her, to give you a Specimen of this Lady's Natural Abilities, she gave us to understand that she understood Music & could play upon the Harpsichord & to convince Us of this she has been playing two hum drum Tunes for four Hours every day since she has been on Board (Sunday excepted) without the least Variation or Improvement, notwithstanding the Assistance of Groenimeng who is happy for him to have two Guineas a Month instead of two Guineas a Song for teaching her, I am apprehensive You will think me too severe & Satyrical I cannot help it, for without Flattery (my dearest Wife is the Occasion), my Resentments are heightened by the Comparison of your two Tempers & Dispositions I shall conclude this Subject with informing You that upon my Arrival at the Cape which I hope will be in a Month from this I shall embark on board the *Dolphin* Commodore Byron which will expedite my Passage to Bengal Six Weeks or a Month at least.

Your Brother is well so are the rest of the Gentlemen Dr Ingham is a very good Young Man very assiduous and very skilful in his Profession notwithstanding what I have suffer'd from constantly catching cold on board a Ship, (which never was the Case before) I have had but one Slight Attack upon my Spirits, which was remov'd in a few Hours with the Assistance of a little Ophium.

I hope at this Writing you are safely deliver'd & of a Boy for we have Girls in Abundance I cannot say that I am at all uneasy that our Son Ned does not make that Progress in the English Language which he otherwise would if he had not so many Irons in the fire a Master of the Dead Languages may become Master of the living whenever he pleases his want of Ear and Awkwardness in dancing I must own gives me Pain there he seems to me to be constitutionaly deficient & I would have nothing spar'd to make him a tolerable Proficient in that Art.

I shall most certainly besides sending a Duplicate of this write You from the Cape & upon my Arrival at Bengal I hope I shall have time to write to my Father by this Ship which sails to Morrow if not

pray remember me to him and all the Family not forgetting good Cousin Harry, Mr and Mrs Kelsal &c.

All here who do not write desire to be remember'd to You & I am ever

Yr Affec.

CLIVE.[1]

The Viceroy and all the other great functionaries hastened to tender their respects and hospitality. It may well be imagined with what lively interest Clive again visited the settlement in which he had spent six months when a lad. His Indian career had led him to realise fully the strategic value of Rio Janeiro to our ancient ally Portugal, and he deeply condemned the ruinous state in which he found the fortifications. He wrote to Grenville: "I should think myself," he says, "deserving of everlasting infamy if I did not with a single battalion of infantry make myself master of Rio Janeiro in 24 hours." His opinion regarding the state of the fortifications was forwarded by the Government at home to the Cabinet of Lisbon, and the works were repaired and strengthened. Clive, the staunchest of friends, also wrote to Rous, the Chairman of the Company, a long letter from Rio Janeiro, in which he recommended that Call, the engineer who had rendered such good service in the final struggle against the French, should receive a brevet commission as Colonel, and he also did what he never tired of doing: he called attention to the fact that the great claims of Forde had been entirely unrecognised.

"If Calliaud," he observes, "should not go to the coast of Coromandel, pray do not forget Colonel Forde, who is a brave, meritorious, and honest officer. He was offered a jaghire by the Subah of the Deckan, but declined taking it upon terms contrary to the interest of the Company. Lord Clive, General Lawrence, and Colonel Coote, have received marks of the Directors' approbation and esteem; Colonel Forde has received none. The two captains who fought and took the Dutch ships in the Ganges received each a piece of plate; but Colonel Forde, the conqueror of Masulipatam, who rendered the Company a much greater service by the total defeat of all the Dutch land forces in Bengal, has not been distinguished by any mark of the Company's favour."[2]

[1] From Lord Clive to the Right Hon'ble Lady Clive. Rio Janeiro, Oct. 14, 1764. Received 11th March, 1765. Answered 12th March, 1765.

[2] Malcolm, Vol. II., p. 259.

The time spent at Rio Janeiro was pleasant, if we may judge from the letters sent to Lady Clive. Henry Strachey wrote briefly regarding the state of his Lordship's health, but Edmund Maskelyne's letters have all the buoyancy of his hopeful nature. He wrote on October 19 as follows:

Rio Janeiro

Dear Sister,—I congratulate You most sincerely on Your escape from a very tedious Voyage, & a still more tedious & teizing Companion. My Lord has drawn the Sultana's Character so completely that one need only say She is the Reverse of every thing that is amiable & engaging in the Fair Sex, and will make us very miserable when His Lordship and the two Colonels embark with Commodore Byron & Capt. Mowat at the Cape, in order to save a Year if it be possible. If Nevil has engaged in no new Scheme it is greatly to be hoped the Letters will arrive in time to admit of our seeing him in Bengal a Twelvemonth hence, & of our having the Pleasure of his Company overland . . . . I intend if it be possible to send You by the Spanish Supracargo who has Business in London a beautiful little Animal called the Lion Monkey. It is about the Size of a Johanna Moggy and seems to be of the Marmozet or Squirrel Species with a soft crimson coat & the head of a Lion. Mrs Thornton shall have a pretty Pol if I can get it carried. There never reigned greater harmony or Friendship amongst a Sett of Gentlemen than has done in our Ship. My Lord's regard for my worthy Friends Mr Ingham & Mr Strachey will I hope be the means of rendring their circumstances easy, As for the other Gentlemen they cannot fail from the Stations they fill of soon making genteel Fortunes. I hope it will be in my power to make my Brothers proprietors of India Stock, and if Miss Coxe would look upon her Cousin with a gracious eye his Measure of happiness would be complete. . . . My Lord has dubb'd me Judge Advocate General which sounds very grand amongst these Fidalgos de praya.

I will only add my Compliments of Duty and Love to my Uncle James, my Aunts, Mrs Latham and Your little Family and my hope that You are happy in another Heir to the Estates & Honors of the Family.

Believe me ever
Your truly Affectionate Brother
Edmd Maskelyne

Colonel Smith, Sir Robert Barker, Messrs Strachey & Ingham & in short all the Family send their best Respects & wishes to You.

We want another Clarinet or two very much. Robinson & Waterhouse are the only decent modest hands of the Band. Groneman's Execution is prodigious but either he or we want taste in not liking the Squeaking & groaning tricks he plays with the Fiddle. They

are so highly caressed by the Fidalgos that I fancy we shall be obliged to pack them off before the Ship sails.

I shall write to my Brothers by the Spanish Ship which will sail in less than a Fortnight. In the Interim assure Him of my Love & be so kind to tell Nevil if he has not disposed of the Collection of Shells he made at Barbadoes I shall be extremely obliged to him for presenting them to the Bishop of Worcester Dr Johnson in my name, & I will pay him the Expence. Mr Frankland's & any other curious Gentlemens Journies overland from India will be very useful for Nevil to bring out with him, and Addison's Travels into Italy where we shall all meet.[1]

Maskelyne sent another gossiping letter on the last day of October:

Rio Janeiro

Dear Sister,—I cannot omit the Opportunity of writing a few Lines to You by the Spanish Ship which sails in a few days to assure You My Lord & all of us are in very good Health & perfectly happy but for one Circumstance that at times will take off from that sincere Friendship & Harmony Every other person is so studious to cherish & promote.

A Lyon Monkey, & Parrot, the first for Your Ladyship, the last for Mrs Thornton (Sherrard Street Golden Sqre) are procured, and if My Lord don't make a point of sending them Himself, will go either by the Spanish Supracargo or one of the Passengers. What I mean, is, that as every thing is at his Command, consequently every thing is equally at his Disposal.

The Fidlers have decamped on the Perswasion of the Viceroy to perform at his Operas as we have strong reason to believe. He is generally & justly detested, and they, if not deliver'd up agreable to his repeated promise, will find themselves very soon completely miserable.

With the best of Wishes to every Individual of Your Family,

I remain

Your ever Affectionate Brother

Edmd Maskelyne

My Lord gives me leave to send the Monkey & Parrot from myself.

Don Tibboosh (as we pronounce his Name) the Supracargo of the Spanish Ship, does me the Favor to undertake the Care & Remittance of the Lyon Monkey & Parrot to Your Ladyship agreable to the former disposition. We all respect him as a Man of great Honor & Gentility & as he proposes visiting London, hope if You should be in Town whilst he is there, You will be kind enough to show him that Civility he must ever deserve possess'd as He is of so many good Qualities.

E. M.

Novr 1st, 1764.[2]

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

There is no record of the reception which Don Tibboosh with the "Lyon Monkey and Parrot" met with from her Ladyship when he reached Berkeley Square. Clive was greatly annoyed at the desertion of the "Fidlers." He wrote to the Viceroy on November 5 demanding the return of three musicians who had been seduced from his service by specious offers, and were now wandering about the country.[1] The Viceroy replied two days after that he did not understand Clive's attitude; from the first all honour and attention had been shown him. He could not be answerable for the disorders of the English domestics, but he would do his best to have them recaptured.[2] But only one was captured. Strachey, in a letter to Lady Clive from the Cape of Good Hope, says:

"We left all the Fidlers at Rio Janeiro except Schuman, who happened to be seiz'd. Him we brought to this Place, but my Lord has discharg'd him, & we suppose he will make the best of his way to Vauxhall."

The *Kent* did not sail from Rio Janeiro till about November 27, and, after "a quick passage of thirty-four days," entered the harbour of the Cape of Good Hope. In a letter of January 2, 1765, Clive wrote to his wife:

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

My last was from Rio Janeiro which I hope my dearest Wife has receiv'd by this time & will serve to make her easy untill she hears from me by this Opportunity.

We had a very fine Passage to this Place where we found 3 of his Majestys Ships of War who left Madrass so late as the end of July & from Commodore Collins who liv'd with Mr Paulk I learn that they had Advices from Bengal dated in June intimating that our Troops under Major Carnack had again defeated Cossin Ally Cann & had drove him out of the Country & that there was a Prospect of Peace and Quietness.

At the Brasils I bought a Parcell of Topasses and Amethysts rough & smooth amounting to between 2 & 300 L which I now send You by Captain Collins of the *Weymouth* I would have You make up a Necklace, Earings Buckles &c. of the best of them for Yourself the rest I intend for my Sisters & Friends but they must be cut &

[1] The copy of the letter is in French.
[2] Written in Portuguese, but there is a rough draft in French.

set in England which may be done either by You or myself when I return.

I have likewise sent 2 Casks of very fine Constantia Wine which the Gov. procur'd for me of Red & of White also I Cask of Tent all which must be put into the Cellar at Berkeley Square, & reserv'd for future Occasions except what may be used by Yourself &c.

Commodore Byron who was to have carried us from the Cape has disappointed us by going elsewhere for I am now persuaded his Destination is for the South Seas before he goes to the East Indies we are all pretty well considering the Length and Tediousness of the Passage, this Climat does not agree with me or indeed any of us near so well as the Brasils, it is more Changeable than England itself we propose leaving this Place in 4 or 5 days (in Company with the *Prince of Wales*) & imagine we shall arrive at Bengal by the 15 of March and not long before which will just be time enough to write by the last Ships.

Mrs Fairfield hath desired me to give her a Letter of Introduction if she should press me again I must comply however she is a Lady with whom I would not have you very intimate bar Civilities such as returning Visits will be sufficient.

Mrs Sumner still continues our Passenger & will I believe be brought to Bed before she can reach Bengal, we met with her Father at this Place who has been as troublesome on board the *Prince of Wales* as the Daughter on Board the *Kent*. I hope Ned & the little ones are all well remember me to them also to Harry Mr & Mrs Kelsall Mrs Latham &c. & believe me

Yr Affec.
Clive

Upon Reflection I think it will be better to bring home the Topasses & Amethysts myself least the Division should occasion the pulling off Caps &c. &c.[1]

On January 6 he added the following:

Captain Peigheton of the *Seaforth* will deliver this Letter with his own Hand he carries with him 2 Casks of Constantia & 1 Cask of Tent directed to your Ladyship which he will deliver or You send for, as may be most convenient Mr Kelsall will take care of this Business Capt Payne, as pronounced, tho spelt as above, has been very civil and obliging; the Lady I mentioned in a former Letter is by no Means a fit Acquaintance for You.

I am very impatient to reach India that I may the sooner return to that Place where every thing is so dear to me. Once more adieu for the present & believe me

Yr Affec. &c. &c.
Clive

[1] Powis MSS.

The Cask of Tent contains 40 Gallons which must be drawn off and one Half deliver'd to Mr Doiley or to whomsoever Ms Strachey shall empower to receive it. Lord Powis must also have 2 Dozen of red Constantia 1 Dozen of Tent & 3 dozen of White Constantia.

The day after he wrote:

By the Men of War returning to England I have wrote at large & consign'd two large Parcells of Topasses and Amethysts, also some very fine Constantia Wine both red and white which the Govr of this Place has procur'd for me.

As I wrote so very fully a few days ago I shall only add that we are just upon the Point of taking our Departure from this Place & hope to be in Bengal the Beginning of March when You may depend upon hearing from

Yr Affec. &c.
Clive.[1]

About January 10 the *Kent* sailed from the Cape in company with the *Prince of Wales* which they found there. On March 10, "At Sea Six in the mornr," Strachey wrote to Lady Clive as follows:

Madam,—I am just roused with the News of an English Sail being in sight, and having some Apprehension, that India Politics will not allow every body to pay sufficient Attention to the Opportunity of writing home, have stolen into a Corner to secure myself the pleasure of informing Your Ladyship that my Lord is in perfect health. As the weather waxes very warm (for we are in Latitude 21 South with little Winds) His Lordship has begun to use the cold Bath, which answers the desir'd purpose of preventing Colds. The *P. of Wales* is still in Company. When we arrive off Ceylon, she is to leave us & proceed to Bengal, while we peep into Madrass. I cannot give any tolerable Guess at the time we shall take in getting there, for when we have no Wind every body desponds & reckons upon 6 or 7 Weeks, and when a Breeze springs up, we don't Doubt of being in India in 3 Weeks. Mr Maskelyne is not stirring, but I can assure You he is well. Mr Ingham has been ill ever since we left the Cape but is now on the Recovery. Excuse my hasty scrawl. I have only time to reassure Your Ladyship that I shall snatch every opportunity of acquainting You of Lord Clive's health & that I am with the greatest Respect

Your Ladyship's
most obedt & most
humble Servant
Henry Strachey.

[1] Powis MSS.

Clive wrote to his wife the same day:

I have just time to write my dearest Wife that we are all well hitherto & hope to be at Madrass in 3 Weeks.

The only thing which gives me concern is the Length of our Passage which will not I am apprehensive admit of my leaving India so soon as I intended with any Propriety.

Tell Mr Kelsall I hear his Son does not enjoy his Health so well as could be expected & that he is Subject to epeleptick Fits, if I can by any Means make his Circumstances such as may admit of his returning to England I certainly will & he shall be one of the Party over land Mr Amphlett being dead I have some thoughts of making him the Superintendent of all my Estates &c. well 300 L per Annum. Pray make my Apology to all my Relations and Friends for not writing by this Opportunity & believe me

Yr Affec.
Clive.

Kent at Sea
March 10th 1765
So Lat. 20.33
Longitude from London 75 degrees
Recd July 17th 1765
Answd Decr 9th 1765

After a voyage of little more than ten months, on April 10, 1765, the *Kent* anchored in Madras Roads. The lad who twenty years before had landed at Fort St. George without money or friends, was now received with all the honours due to the Governor of Bengal. On landing he heard of the death of Meer Jaffier. The Nawab had discovered that he had paid too dearly to regain the throne; his closing days were embittered by constant fresh demands. By the treaty made on his restoration he was bound to levy duties upon all goods except those of the Company's servants, and to pay the Company £300,000 on account of the losses due to the disputes with Meer Cossim. But the British had dethroned him and placed Meer Cossim in power, and to make him pay for the action of his supplanter was a gross act of extortion. But there was a lower depth. He was also bound by treaty to reimburse the personal losses of individuals, which, though originally fixed at £100,000, were eventually raised to £530,000, and the greater portion of this sum was for losses sustained in an illicit trade. He also promised to give a donation of £250,000 to the army and navy.

All delicacy was laid aside in the manner in which payment for the personal losses was pressed. The old Nawab went down to Calcutta in order to discuss pecuniary matters with the Council, and to meet his staunch friend Clive, whose arrival was expected. He fell seriously ill, was with difficulty removed to Murshidabad, and died at his capital on February 6, 1765.

A week after he reached Madras Clive dispatched to Mr. Rous, the Chairman of the Company, one of those remarkable utterances on affairs which deserve remembrance:

MADRAS

DEAR SIR,—We arrived at this Place the 10th Inst. and shall proceed to Bengal next Saturday. The *Prince of Wales* kept us Company the greatest part of the way to Ceylon, and is by this time I hope at her destined Port, all well. I must now enter with you into the Politicks of India. The particulars of our late Successes, and now very flourishing Condition of the Company's Affairs in Indostan, you will have been informed of at large before this reaches you; I shall therefore only trouble You with my Sentiments in consequence of those Successes, and trust to your co-operating with me in carrying into Execution, and in establishing, upon the most solid Basis, such parts of my Plan, as appear capable of answering what we have both disinterestedly at Heart, the Company's Honor and Prosperity.

We have at last arrived at that critical Conjuncture, which I have long foreseen, I mean that Conjuncture which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can, or shall take the whole to ourselves. Meer Jaffier is dead, and his natural Son is a Minor, but I know not whether he is yet declared Successor, Suja Dowla is beat out of his Dominions; We are in possession of them, and it is scarcely an Hyperbole to say that the whole Mogul Empire is in our hands. The Inhabitants of the Country, we know by long Experience, have no Attachment to any Nabob whatever, their Troops are neither disciplined, nor commanded, nor paid as ours are. Can it then be doubted that a large Army of Europeans would effectually preserve to us the Sovereignty, as I may call it, not only by keeping in Awe the Ambition of any Country Prince, but by rendering us so truly formidable, that no French, Dutch or other Enemy could ever dare to molest us?

You will I am sure, imagine with me that after the lengths we have run, the Princes of Indostan must conclude our Views to be boundless. They have indeed seen such Instances of our Ambition that they cannot suppose us capable of Moderation. The very Nabobs, whom we might support, would be either covetous of our Possessions or jealous of our Power. Ambition, Fear, Avarice would be hourly laying wait for an Opportunity to destroy us; A Victory

would be to us but a temporary relief for the dethroning of one Nabob would be followed by the setting up of another, who actuated by the same Principles, would, when his Treasury could afford him an Army, pursue the very Path of his Predecessor. We must indeed become the Nabobs ourselves in Fact, if not in Name, perhaps totally so without Disguise, but on this Subject I cannot be positive until my arrival at Bengal. Let us, and without delay, compleat our three European Regiments to one thousand each. Such an Army together with five hundred light Horse, 3 or 4 Companies of Artillery, and the Troops of the Country will absolutely render us invincible. In short, if Riches and Stability are the Objects of the Company, this is the Method, the only Method we now have for attaining and securing them.

Our Troops you will hear are at this time, above half way to Delhi—A March I highly disapprove of. I mean absolutely to bound our Possessions, Assistance and Conquests to Bengal, never shall the going to Delhi be a Plan adopted if possible to be avoided by me, and you may depend upon my putting a Stop to it. Nor should I ever have thought of going such lengths as we have if the Actions of others had not rendered such a Step necessary. I could have wished that our Operations had been carried on upon a Plan of Moderation and that we had not been obliged to maintain any other Military Force, than what might be sufficient to preserve and pursue our commercial Advantages. But since our Views are extended and since Commerce alone is not now the whole of the Company's Support, we must go forward, to retract is impossible ; one word more, encrease our Army to the Establishment above mentioned, send us Twenty Thousand Stand of Small Arms, with plenty of Powder for Muskets and remember that the light Horse are become incontestably necessary. The present Establishment for Madras is sufficient, no Addition is wanted there ; so that your whole Attention, in Military Matters, will be properly paid to Bengal.

Give me leave now to lead you a few Moments into the Civil Department—See what an Augoean Stable there is to be cleansed. The Confusion we behold, what does it arise from ? Rapacity and Luxury ; the unreasonable desire of many to acquire in an Instant, what only a few can, or ought to possess. Every Man would be rich without the Merits of long Service and from this incessant Competition undoubtedly springs that Disorder to which we must apply a Remedy, or be undone, for it is not only malignant but contagious. The new Covenants (tho I do not entirely approve of their present Shape) will make a beginning : Many of the Civil Servants will probably resign their Employments. The Court of Directors must supply the Settlement with young men more moderate, or less eager in their pursuit of Wealth, and we may perhaps be reduced to the necessity of drawing some Senior Servants from the other Settlements. It must be your Care and I trust you will do all in your Power to send out proper Gentlemen. Affairs seem to be coming to such a Pass, that in a little

time, there will hardly be any body at the Council Board above the Rank or Age of a Writer. In short, the Evils, Civil and Military are enormous, but they *shall* be rooted out. Whatever Odium may be thrown upon me by the Malice or Disappointment of Individuals I am resolved to act for the Advantage of the Company in every Respect. I have not here time to inform you of my whole Plan of Reformation, but the Motives upon which I have found it, being no other than the public Good, you may safely exert yourself in its Support, if it should stand in need of your Assistance, which I hardly think it can, tho' Faction should be still raging—I propose no Advantage to myself—I am determined to return to England, without having acquired one Farthing Addition to my Fortune. Surely then I cannot possibly design anything but public Good. Our Affairs are now in such an important Situation, as to require that the Conduct of them should be managed with the utmost Secrecy, and consequently the knowledge of them confined to a few. I mention this because I find that your secret Committee is abolished and I wish to hear very soon that it is re-established.

As I have written to M[r] Walsh on this Subject and thought proper to use the same precaution as I have to you, I must beg you to furnish him with the Key and likewise with a Copy of this Letter.

I am
Dear Sir &c[a]
CLIVE [1]

Clive by the same ship wrote to his agent in London as follows:

"I have desired Mr. Rous to furnish you with a copy of my letter to him of this day's date, likewise with the cipher, that you may be enabled to understand what follows: 'The contents are of such great importance, that I would not have them transpire. Whatever money I may have in the public Funds, or any where else, and *as much as can be borrowed in my name*, I desire may be, without loss of a minute, invested in East India Stock. You will speak to my Attorneys on this point. Let them know I am anxious to have my money so disposed of; and press them to hasten the affair as much as possible.'"

The subtle comment made by Mill on the transaction has misled many writers.

"The letter to Mr. Rous," he says, "and the shortness of the period which intervened between the arrival of Lord Clive in Bengal and his assuming the dewanee or revenues, would leave no doubt that he commanded all the money which he possessed, or which he could borrow, to be invested in India Stock, in contemplation of the

[1] From Lord Clive to Mr. Rous; Madras, dated April 17, 1765.

rise of price which that measure was calculated to produce; had he not, when examined on the subject of this letter by the Committee of the House of Commons, declared absolutely, 'that he had not while at Madras formed the resolution to seize the dewanee.'" [1]

There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that Clive directed the East India stock to be purchased in order to strengthen his voting power in the Court of Proprietors. He knew that Sulivan was doing his utmost to supplant Rous, and, with Sulivan again Chairman, he would not receive the support from home which was so necessary to the success of the difficult and disagreeable task he had undertaken.

Clive wrote to his wife by the same ship:

MADRASS

I have an Opportunity by this French Conveyance to inform my Dearest Wife of our Safe Arrival all in Health at this Place & that we shall sail for Bengal in two days where every thing goes on very well. Pray send for Mr Rous & deliver him the enclos'd Letter, the *Argo* Frigate will sail from Bengal next September when You shall have all the News.

I am
Yr Affec. &c. &c.
CLIVE.[2]

On the morning of May 3 Clive arrived at Calcutta. Two members of the Select Committee, Sykes and Sumner, who had accompanied him on the voyage, landed at the same time. The other two members were away from the capital. General Carnac, who commanded the army, was with the troops beyond the bounds of Behar, and Mr. Verelst was at the distant settlement of Chittagong. Clive, on his return to a scene in which he had played so brilliant a part, was received with marked regard both by the European and Indian community. Among the numerous letters of welcome which he received was one from the two heads of the banking firm of Jagat Seth, whose fathers had been so brutally murdered by Meer Cossim. In acknowledging this letter Clive says:

"I have received your letter. When the news of the death of your fathers reached my ears, I was grieved beyond expression. You

[1] Mill, Vol. III., p. 263.
[2] From Lord Clive to the Right Hon'ble Lady Clive, Madras, April 17, 1765.

know very well the great esteem I had for them. I always endeavoured to support their dignity and to obtain for them that respect from the world to which by their many virtues they were entitled. Their names I will never forget. The cruelty of the tyrant Qasim will also remain in my memory whilst I live. Let me see you and let me be informed of any matters wherein I can serve you. Be assured that as I loved your fathers, so I will always exert myself in supporting the dignity and welfare of their children." [1]

Rajah Dulab Ram wrote to say how delighted he was to hear of his Lordship's return: "As the parched earth is refreshed by the blessing of rain, and as the budding flower after the hard weather recovers its beauty and fragrance by the sweet breeze of spring, so has this news afforded relief to my anxious mind." [2]

Clive was most punctilious in answering these letters of welcome, and the copies of his Persian letters to Native chiefs and other grandees occupy many volumes. He was ever a strenuous worker. The day of his arrival he read steadily through the past Minutes of Council in order, as he expressed it, that "by seeing what had been done he might be able to form a clearer opinion of the plan of operations on which it would be necessary to act," and he also made the time to write the following long epistle to Carnac:

"I arrived here this morning to take possession of a government, which I find in a more distracted state, if possible, than I had reason to expect.

"The measures taken, with regard to the country government, have been at best precipitate; and the gentlemen here, knowing that the arrangement of all affairs was absolutely vested in the committee, might, I think, have avoided going the lengths they have, till my arrival. But I am determined not to be embarrassed by the errors of others, if in my power to remedy them. At least, I will struggle hard that the disinterested purpose of my voyage prove not ineffectual. Your resolution, my dear friend, and principles, almost unparalleled in these climes, will, I am sure, co-operate with me in every regulation for the public good. Verelst appears, as far as I can hitherto judge, to be a man of honour and integrity. Sykes may be thoroughly relied on, and Sumner must, for his own sake, be a friend to the Company. It is impossible, therefore, to doubt that we shall be able to settle every matter to the satisfaction of our

[1] Persian Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 405. [2] *Ibid.*

employers. The young Nabob should be treated with respect, with dignity, and with that honour which ought to be characteristic of Englishmen in Asia as well as in Europe; but since we have experienced such a series of troubles from the mismanagement of Subahships, it is our duty to guard against future evils, by doing for ourselves what no Nabob will ever do for us; and never trust to the ambition of any Mussulman whatever, after what has happened. Peace upon a firm and lasting foundation must be established if possible. And to obtain this object, I conclude it will be necessary for me to march up to you at camp, not to continue long there, but to enter into some treaty with the King. Your long and extensive expedition I could wish had been avoidable; but of that and all other affairs I will speak more at large, when I have the pleasure of hearing from or seeing you. For the present, I can only say, that our views ought to be confined to Bengal and its departments, and so far I am sure may be gone with justice; nor do I doubt, that a committee of gentlemen, whose emulation is not excited by the distribution of loaves and fishes, may acquire at this juncture immortal honour to themselves, and lasting advantages to the Company. To-morrow morning I begin to read over the papers, and minutes of Council, that I may, by seeing what has been done, be able to form a clearer opinion of the plan we ought now to adopt. This business will, I suppose employ my attention for two or three days, and then you shall hear from me." [1]

The measures which Clive regarded as precipitate were those taken for filling the throne of Bengal within a day or two of Meer Jaffier's death. Meer Jaffier left a son, Najim-ud-Dowla, aged eighteen, who was said to be illegitimate, and a grandson, a son of Meeran, a child of six. Clive, when at Madras, resolved to acknowledge the grandson as Nawab and to rule in his name. In his letter to Rous he stated: "We must indeed become Nabobs ourselves in Fact if not in Name." On reaching Calcutta Clive learnt that, as soon as the death of Meer Jaffier was known, the President and Council acknowledged Najim-ud-Dowla.[2] The Council, however, delayed his formal recognition as Nawab until he signed a treaty sent to him, drafted and signed by the Board. A special deputation conveyed it to Murshidabad. The head of the Commission was Mr. Johnstone, Vansittart's most bitter foe, who had savagely denounced him for the acceptance of presents from Meer Cossim. The very day the Commissioners arrived

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., pp. 318–20. [2] Najmu-d-daulāh.

the young Nawab signed the treaty, which deprived him of all real power, and transferred it to Mohammed Reza Khan, an able Mussulman grandee, whom he was bound by the treaty to appoint as Naib, or deputy Nawab, for the administration of all affairs. The power of the young Nawab was further curtailed by having to bind himself to make the election and removal of all officers engaged in the administration of the revenue subject to the approval of the President in Council. The treaty confirmed to the British the privilege of trading free from all duties except 2½ per cent. upon the article of salt, though letters had been received from the Court of Directors directing the complete abandonment of the inland trade.

When the treaty was concluded about £140,000 was promised, and the greater part paid and received by the Governor and Members of Council contrary to the positive orders of the Court of Directors that "all persons in the Company's service should execute covenants, restraining them from accepting, directly or indirectly, from the Indian princes, any grant of lands, rents, or territorial dominion, or any present whatever, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees, without the consent of the Court of Directors." [1] These orders arrived by the *Lapwing* packet on January 24, 1765, about a month before the death of Meer Jaffier and the acceptance of the presents. The dispatch was opened and the orders were recorded by the Council the same day. When Clive arrived, three months later, the covenants had not been signed, and he determined there should be no further delay.

On Thursday, May 5, two days after his arrival, Clive attended a meeting of the Council. He gives an account of the proceedings in a letter to Carnac written the same day.[2] After mentioning the military rank assigned to the field officers by the Council, he proceeds to say:

"After this matter was settled, I desired the Board would order those paragraphs relative to the power of the committee to be transmitted to the chiefs and council of the subordinate settlements, to

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., p. 330.
[2] The wrong date, May 6, is given by Malcolm.

the Commander-in-chief of the army, and to the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay, that they might know what powers the committee were invested with. I then acquainted the Board, that the committee was determined to make use of the power invested in them, to its utmost extent; that the condition of the country, and the very being of the Company made such a step absolutely necessary. Mr. Leycester then seemed inclined to enter into a debate about the meaning and extent of those powers, but I cut him short, by informing the Board, that I would not suffer any one to enter into the least discussion about the meaning of those powers; but that the committee alone were absolutely determined to be the sole and only judges; but that they were at liberty to enter upon the face of the consultations any minutes they thought proper, but nothing more. Mr. Johnstone desired that some other paragraphs of the letter might be sent to the different subordinates, &c., as tending, I believe, in his opinion, to invalidate those orders. Upon which I asked him, whether he would dare to dispute our authority? Mr. Johnstone replied, that he never had the least intention of doing such a thing; upon which there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, and not one of the council uttered another syllable. After despatching the current business, the Board broke up, and to-morrow we sit in committee, when, I make no doubt, of discovering such a scene as will be shocking to human nature. They have all received immense sums for this new appointment, and are so shameless, as to own it publicly. Hence we can account for the motive of paying so little respect to me and the committee; and, in short, every thing of benefit to themselves they have in this hasty manner concluded, leaving to the committee the getting the covenants signed, which they say, is of such consequence, that they cannot think of settling any thing final about them until Lord Clive's arrival.

"Alas! how is the English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation (irrecoverably so, I fear). However, I do declare, by that Great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable, if there must be an hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy those great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt.

I hope, when matters are a little settled, to set out for the army; bringing with me full power for you and me to settle every thing for the best." [1]

On Friday, May 6, the Select Committee met for the first time, and the proceedings were opened by a letter from Clive.

"A very few days," he says, "are elapsed since our arrival; and yet, if we consider what has already come to our knowledge, we

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., pp. 320–3.

cannot hesitate a moment upon the necessity of assuming the power that is in us of conducting, as a Select Committee, the affairs both civil and military of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy, confusion, and, what is worse, an almost general corruption. Happy, I am sure, you would have been, as well as myself, had the late conduct of affairs been so irreproachable as to have permitted them still to continue in the hands of the Governor and Council." [1]

The Committee replied by an address promising unanimity and support. Mill observes: "Yet one would imagine that four days afforded not a very ample space for collecting a satisfactory body of evidence on so extensive a field, especially if we must believe the noble declarer, that the determination to which it led was a disagreeable one." [2] It was not in four days but in two days that Clive obtained a satisfactory body of evidence by reading over "all the consultations from the death of the late Nawab to the 4th April, 1765." This evidence confirmed "what was," as Clive says, "so very notorious throughout the town," and the parties "themselves had taken such little pains to conceal." On May 11 Clive sent to Mr. Palk, the Governor of Madras, a copy of those paragraphs in the Court of Directors' powers with which the Select Committee was invested, and supplied him with a few interesting details.

"At the first meeting, the gentlemen began to oppose and treat me in the manner they did Vansittart, by disputing our power, and the meaning of the paragraph in the Company's general letter. However, I cut that matter short, by telling them they should not be the judges of that power, nor would we allow them to enter into the least discussion about it; but that they might enter their dissents in writing, upon the face of the consultations. This brought matters to a conclusion, and spared us the necessity of making use of force, to put the Company's intentions into execution. We arrived on Tuesday, and effected this on Thursday. On Friday we held a committee; and on Monday was read before the council the following resolution from the committee book:—'Resolved that it is the opinion of this committee, that the covenants be executed immediately by the rest of the council, and all the Company's servants.' After many idle and evasive arguments, and being given to understand they must either sign or be suspended the service, they

[1] Mill, Vol. III., p. 276. [2] *Ibid.*

executed the covenants upon the spot. From this you will see what I had the honour to inform you of, that I am determined upon an absolute reformation; but here we must act with caution, until a peace is established, which I do not despair of accomplishing during the rains.

"We are waiting the arrival of the Nabob and his ministry, to determine whether we shall suspend them the service, or represent matters in a general light leaving to the Directors to determine their state; though I am persuaded they will never wait such a decision, having all of them received large fortunes which they barefacedly confess, for absolutely and precipitately concluding the late treaty with the young Nabob; not waiting for our approbation, or leaving it in our power to rectify the least tittle, without being guilty of a breach of faith." [1]

On May 8 the young Nawab wrote to Clive that "ever since the receipt of the news of His Lordship's returning to this country His Excellency has been longing to see him. This day he sets out to have that pleasure." The real object of the Nawab's visit was to get rid of the control of Mohammed Reza, to whose appointment he had strongly objected. He had pleaded strenuously that Nuncomar, who had supreme influence over him, should fill the office of Naib. But his wishes were disregarded by the Commission, and soon after Nuncomar was sent to Calcutta a prisoner, owing to the discovery of proofs that he had corresponded with the Vizier of Oudh during the campaign in Behar.[2] In a letter also dated May 8, Mohammed Reza Khan stated that he was most anxious to accompany the Nawab, but permission was not granted, and he "requested leave to come to Calcutta and pay his respects to His Lordship." [3] Leave was granted, and towards the end of May the Nawab, Mohammed Reza and the two Seths arrived there. The Nawab at once presented a letter of complaint to Clive and the Select Committee, and the attention of the Council was called to a representation from the Nawab that since his father's death Mohammed Reza had distributed twenty lacs among members of the Council in order that they should maintain him in his station.

On June 7, the question of receiving presents being brought

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., pp. 324–6. [2] Third Report, p. 305.
[3] Persian Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 406.

under discussion in Council, Mr. Johnstone desired that the question "whether the acceptance of all presents is improper" might be put to each member of the Board. Three members of the Select Committee, Messrs. Sykes, Verelst, and Sumner, and the President, were opposed to their acceptance. Four members gave a decided or qualified opinion in favour of their receipt. Mr. Johnstone stated: "That where they are not the price of unworthy services, and no trust is betrayed for them, the acceptance of them is no way improper; and, in the present case, as being previous to the execution of the deed of covenant, as warrantable as in time past by any who had received them." [1] This was very thin quibbling, as in the present case it was not previous to the receipt of the orders. Mr. Johnstone, the person chiefly implicated, sought to defend himself by a ferocious attack on Clive. In a long minute, which he recorded on June 17, 1765, he writes:

"With regard to presents in general, we have the approved example of the President, Lord Clive himself, for our guide, who, through this Nabob's father's princely bounty on his coming to the government had made his fortune easy, and the Company's welfare his only motive for staying in India, yet acknowledges his having made use of the influence of Juggut Seit to apply for a jaghire, which, though amounting to £30,000 per annum, was not thought improper by him to accept of, even in the circumstances of distress he then represents the old Nabob to have been in—his life twice saved from his troops mutinying for their arrears only by the awe of our arms, and large balances then due to the Company, which were not all paid till after the revolution, 1760." [2]

Clive replied with considerable fire and energy of language:

"As to the recrimination of my having formerly received a present from Meer Jaffier which Mr. Johnstone would establish as a precedent to be followed by every body, he is not ignorant that it was given to me in a military capacity only, as a reward for real services rendered to the Nabob at a very dangerous crisis; nor was that reward ever stipulated, required, or expected by me, or with my knowledge. Be it also remembered, that what I received in consequence of the battle of Plassey, was the only present I ever did receive, although I remained, during the space of nearly three years afterwards, President of the Council, and at the head of a victorious army. Let the

[1] Auber, Vol. I., p. 134. [2] Third Report, p. 434.

impartial world determine, whether those who have succeeded me with inferior pretensions, and even in inferior stations, have conducted themselves with equal propriety or moderation. It is unnecessary for me to dwell longer upon the subject of my own conduct, having long ago published every particular relating to it, and having long ago had the satisfaction of seeing it approved by my employers. If all Mr. Johnstone's transactions will bear the test as well as mine, he will no doubt receive as honourable testimonials of public approbation as I did." [1]

When a copy of the proceedings reached England, the Directors expressed, in a letter to Bengal, their decided views regarding the conduct of the Select Committee and their opponents. They refused to admit that the vast sums obtained by the members of the Commission "were by any means free gifts," and they were "sorry to see some of the gentlemen have thought fit to justify their breach of trust by a breach of order in pleading the covenants were not executed, therefore not obligatory." They declared, in emphatic language: "But so totally do we differ from them, that we think them not only guilty of a breach of those particular covenants, but also of the general covenants, which were entered into before these last were found so necessary." [2] After commenting severely on the cavils and opposition of several members of the Council, which "appear most evidently to have been calculated to screen and obstruct the inquiries into, and detection of, the misbehaviour," they go on to express a warm approval of the conduct of Clive:

"We are satisfied you have had the real interest of the Company constantly in your view, in all your researches into the general corruption and rapacity of our servants, with the spirit and disinterestedness which do you honour, and merit our approbation." [3]

On June 25, 1765, Clive left Calcutta, in order to meet the Emperor and the Nawab Vizier, who were with General Carnac at Allahabad. A great turn in affairs had taken place since the decisive victory of Buxar. A narrative of the immediate events after the battle is thus given by Verelst:

[1] Auber, Vol. I., p. 137. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 141. [3] *Ibid.*

" Major Munro, judging it expedient to pursue every advantage from his victory by not giving the enemy time to recover and collect themselves, determined to march for Bannarass immediately. He crossed his whole army accordingly over the Ganges (which Buksar lays upon,) by the 1st November, and about the 10th reached Bannarass. The King was there, waiting for the Major's coming up, in order to accommodate matters if possible ; but no terms cou'd be admitted on our side 'till Cossim, Summero, and the European deserters, were first given up to us ; which was the primary article we insisted on from Suja Dowla, from the first commencement of hostilities. Benny Bahadre, one of Suja's principal Generals who attended the King, was accordingly sent to Suja at Illiabad with this the Major's final result, and had ten days allowed him, which if he did not return in—the Major told him to inform his master that he would immediately march our army to Illiabad.

" By the last advices from camp, dated Novemr 25th, our army was still at Bannarass, and the King with them ; who has taken on himself the government of the province of Oud, Suja Dowla's dominions ; so that Suja must now soon fall. Bulwan Sing, the Raja of Bannarass, submitted himself and came in to our camp the same day ; he has been of great assistance to the enemy in supplying them with provisions. We are collecting the revenues of those parts, and a Chief and Council are appointed to establish a factory at that city. Our army has ransomed Bannarass for four Lacks of Rupees. The allowed ten days for Benny Bahadre to go to Illiabad and back, were expired when these advices left camp ; in consequence of which, as there are no proposals from Suja, the army was daily expected to march for his capital. They add—that he is putting it into the best state of defence possible, being determined to try his farther fortune ; for which purpose, he has offered a year's revenues to be allowed to all his subjects who will immediately join his army, and is clearing away the houses, and forming an esplanade round the Capital. Cossim and Summero, it is thought, are both with him. To the capacity and activity of Summero he owes, in a great measure, the possibility of his having been able to act so formidably against us ; for Summero has disciplined twenty thousand Seapoys for him, in a very extraordinary manner considering it almost wholly owing to one man, and armed in the European manner ; besides a large body of excellent Horse, well trained, and armed with light firelocks. Some say, indeed, that to him is also owing the very formidable train of Artillery which both Cossim and Suja have had, mounted as well as ours ; tho' some of the French deserters might probably claim a share here. Cossim had his musters of artillery from us, soon after VanSittart set him on the Musnud ; nor did our politicians scruple, at that time, to supply him with European small arms also, from which he was enabled to have so many thousands made for his own troops ; and, with which, and his artillery, he was soon afterwards in a capacity so desperately to contend with us. Summero is said

to be a German, who came out a soldier on board of Boscawen's fleet to India, deserted from us at Madrass soon afterwards to the French, in whose service he came down as a Corporal or Serjeant to Chandernagore ; made his escape from thence when it was taken by us, and either joined Mons^r Law's party, or went into the service of some of the country powers, with whom he continued 'till Cossim Aly was made Suba ; who, endeavouring to adopt an independency of us from his first rise to the Musnud, drew into his service every European possible, by large pecuniary rewards and great preferment. For the adoption and execution of this independency, we are not a little indebted to that public spy, Coja Petruse, and in some degree to his brother Coja Gregory ; the latter of whom was one of Cossim's head Generals in his several battles against us ; which two brothers engaged some hundreds of Armenians into Cossim's service, which were as good troops as any he had. Coja Gregory was cut off by Cossim, towards the latter end of his ill success, for having been (its said,) one of the principal advisers to his war with the English, which proved his ruin ; and Coja Petruse is still in Calcutta. The villain Summero was the bloody instrument Cossim made use of to sacrifice our poor unfortunate Gentlemen, for which (they say,) he gave him some Lacks. He is now Suja Dowla's chief General, Cossim's power being entirely reduced, who, 'tis believed, is a prisoner, in order that when Suja is put to the last push, Cossim's delivery up to us may save himself, if possible." [1]

Munro, "judging it expedient to pursue every advantage from his victory," determined to march without delay to Benares. On October 27 the British forces crossed the Ganges. On November 8 Munro reached Benares, the centre of Hindu religious life, and encamped his troops near the sacred city. A large portion of the sepoys were Mohammedans, and to them and the European soldiers sore was the temptation to plunder the shrines of their rich stores of silver and gold brought by pilgrims from all parts. But the miscellaneous force was kept by their general under the strictest discipline, and Munro, on the day of arrival, issued the following order :

"None of the troops or followers of the army are on any account whatever to go into the city of Banaras, or out of the limits of the camp, on pain of being severely punished ; and if any person is detected plundering, he is to be immediately hanged." [2]

The next day a ransom of £40,000 was paid to the army by the bankers and chief inhabitants of a city great in commerce

[1] Letter from W. Verelst to Lord Clive; Islamabad, December 19, 1764.
[2] Broome, Vol. I., p. 485.

and opulence.[1] In the neighbourhood of Benares, not far from the British force, the Emperor Shah Alam also pitched his camp. Ever since the battle of Buxar he had followed Munro in his march, and had sought his protection and support. At an interview with the British commander he offered to transfer to the Company the wide dominions of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, on condition they paid the usual *peshkash* (fine or tribute on appointment), and he again offered to grant to them the Diwani of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. But a formal treaty Munro would not make without the sanction of the Government. On November 19 Munro received instructions from the Council at Calcutta. The following day he sent a battalion of sepoys to the Emperor's camp, and on November 24 he issued the following order:

"Such of the officers, as will be off duty to morrow, who choose to wait on the king, and wish him joy of being put in possession of Sujah al Dowlah's country by the English, are desired to meet at head quarters at nine o'clock to morrow morning; it is necessary to acquaint them, that it is customary to make him a salem on the occasion, and the least that should be given by a captain is five gold mohurs, and three by a subaltern." [2]

On November 25 Munro, accompanied by the officers, waited on the Emperor with "the Board's late advices," "when his Majesty," says Verelst, "expressed great joy at his good fortune, saying 'he was happy on having escaped from the hands of Suja Dowla, but still happier in having found friends able and willing to support him against all his enemies. For, in fact, he had been no other than a state prisoner with Suja Dowla, who detained him to make use of his name to carry on his own ambitions and unjust designs; for the King has all along disapproved Suja's conduct towards us.'" [3]

Munro, having now been reinforced by troops from Patna, determined to lay siege to the Fort of Chunar, about eighteen miles from Benares. It was a place of great strategic importance in former times, as it commanded the entrance to a low

[1] Burke: Speech on Mr. Fox's East India Bill.
[2] Caraccioli, Vol. II., pp. 62–3.
[3] Letter from W. Verelst to Lord Clive; Islamabad, December 19, 1764.

chain of hills running parallel to the Ganges on its right bank, from which the marauding Mahratta horsemen burst to plunder the fertile plain. The fort itself covers the crest and sides of an isolated rock rising about a hundred feet above the river, and the heavy batteries on the ramparts commanded the navigation. But the garrison did not depend on the stout walls and heavy batteries for their chief protection, but on their vast store of stone cylinders, rudely made and pretty much like garden-rollers, which they rolled over the parapets down the steep face of the hill to impede the advances and overwhelm the ranks of an assaulting army.[1]

Europeans of the investing troops, taking advantage of a dark night, went up the Ganges in boats with the ordnance and stores, and effected a landing on the eastern bank to the south-west of the fort. When day broke, the three battalions of sepoys arrived, and a camp was formed and batteries commenced under the direction of Captain Polier, field engineer to the detachment. Major Pemble, who commanded, sent the governor an order from the Emperor Shah Alam to surrender the citadel. He was inclined to obey. But the garrison turned him out, and placed old and gallant soldiers in charge of the fort. Major Munro, having marched with the main body of the army up the left side of the river, took up a position opposite the fort, "where he erected a two gun battery, which was of no other service than annoying the enemy in their houses by the river side." The batteries on the right bank against the south-west angle and the east side, where the upper and lower forts join, opened fire, "but the work of breaching was very slow, owing to its being necessarily confined to the 2 eighteen and 2 twelve-pounders." [2]

On December 2 Major Pemble reported the main breach to be practicable, and orders were issued for the column of assault to assemble next morning. So soon as the first rays of the sun struck the rock the signal was given, and the stormers mounted the steep ascent.

[1] "Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India," Vol. I., p. 402. By Reginald Heber, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

[2] Broome, Vol. I., p. 488.

"Our men at first marched up the hill with the greatest resolution, but large stones which the enemy rolled out of the breach, and on each side of it threw them so often down, and rolled them back again by twenties at a time. What with their endeavours to clamber up so steep a rock, and their being so often tumbled back by large stones rolled down upon them, our people were at last so fatigued, that they were obliged to give it up. Captain Dow who commanded a battalion of seapoys, now a lieutenant colonel in the service, and his serjeant were the only two that got up to the breach, one on each side; here they remained some little time unsupported, at last, they were rolled down among the others; captain Dow from the top to the bottom of the hill; his skull was fractured by a stone for which he was obliged to be trepanned." [1]

The following night the column again mounted the hill, determined to carry the main breach. But it could not be done.

"The enemy's spirits were revived by our repulse: they defended the place much better on the second attack, and rolled such amazing quantity of stones, that our people could not enter the breach, though they did everything which might be expected of brave men; they were therefore drawn off when day appeared." [2]

On December 5 Munro issued the following order:

"As an action is soon expected with the Vuzier, it becomes necessary that the detachment should join the army, leaving a sufficient force to prevent provisions and stores being brought into the fort: the action being over, the siege will be carried on again." [3]

But the Nawab of Oudh, Vizier of the Mogul Empire, did not appear. On December 6 the army marched back to Benares.

After his defeat at Buxar the Nawab Vizier offered to purchase a cessation of hostilities by the payment of £250,000 as the expenses of the war, a similar sum to the army, and £80,000 to the British commander. But Munro insisted that Meer Cossim and Somroo, the perpetrators of a foul massacre, should be surrendered before negotiations for peace were opened. On this point the Nawab Vizier returned an emphatic answer. He could not, without a stain on his honour, surrender Meer Cossim. As for Somroo, he was a master of legions, and could not be made a prisoner. But he proposed

[1] Caraccioli, Vol. II., p. 64. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[3] Broome, Vol. I., p. 491.

that two or three British officers acquainted with Somroo should be sent to his camp, and that he would have Somroo murdered in their presence at an entertainment given for the purpose.[1] Major Munro rejected the vile proposal, and all negotiations for peace ended. Meer Cossim, treated with the greatest personal indignity and robbed of the bulk of his treasures, fled away to the north-west, and died in the utmost poverty at Delhi. Somroo, taking with him his well-trained battalions of sepoys and a body of Europeans, left the Nawab Vizier, and entered the service of the Rajah of the Jats, the ancestor of the present Rajah of Bhurtpore.[2] The Nawab Vizier now sought the aid of the famous Rohilla Chief, Rahmat Khan,[3] and at the same time he entered into a treaty with Mulhar Rao Holkar, the founder of one of the five great Mahratta houses or dynasties. The Nawab, reinforced by his new allies, collected his scattered forces and returned to his own territory, while Munro, tired of waiting for him to appear before Benares, and thinking that the Nawab's force would disperse for want of funds, resigned the command of the army, and proceeded to Calcutta, where he found Carnac, who had been appointed to succeed him. Carnac had been dismissed the service on account of his quarrel with Vansittart, but he had been reinstated with the rank of Colonel and the title of Brigadier-General. Major Sir Robert Fletcher assumed command of the Field Force, pending the arrival of Carnac, and promptly advanced with his main force towards Allahabad. He left at Benares a brigade under the command of Major Stibbert, with instructions that he should again attempt to capture Chunar.

On February 8, three practicable breaches having been made and an assault being imminent, the brave old commander handed the keys of the fort to Major Stibbert, saying: "I have endeavoured to act like a soldier; but deserted by my prince, and with a mutinous garrison, what could I do? God and you (laying his hand on the Koran and pointing to his

[1] First Report, p. 42.

[2] Jats tribe in Northern India—Bhurtpore State in Rajputana.

[3] Selections from the State Papers of the Governor-General, edited by G. W. Forrest (Warren Hastings), Vol. I., p. 29.

soldiers) are witnesses that to the faith of the English I now trust my life and fortune." Touched by his gallantry and his time-honoured grey hairs, Major Stibbert and all his officers paid him every compliment and attention in their power, and granted honourable terms to the garrison, a large portion of whom enlisted in the Company's Service.[1]

Three days after the British troops occupied Chunar, the strong fortress of Allahabad, built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, was surrendered to Sir Robert Fletcher. On February 13, 1764, Brigadier-General Carnac arrived at Chunar and assumed command of the army. He at once ordered Stibbert's brigade, with the exception of two Native battalions, to join the main body at Allahabad. On arriving there with Stibbert's brigade, Carnac led the main force into Oudh, occupied some of the chief towns, and, pushing on with all the cavalry and one sepoy battalion, occupied Fyzabad, the ancient capital of the kingdom. He took up his residence in the palace of the Nawab, held durbars in high Oriental fashion, and received the submission of the leading chiefs and zemindars.

Carnac had not given much time to administration when news reached him that the Mahrattas under Mulhar Rao Holkar had joined the Nawab Vizier, and were advancing from Rohilkund upon Calpee[2], the natural fortress standing on a high bald rock rising from the right bank of the Jumna, with the intention of invading the Lower Doab, or fertile plain between the Jumna and the Ganges. On the 19th Carnac joined Stibbert's division, and on the 27th he crossed the Ganges, and the day after he was joined by Sir Robert Fletcher, who, with his small brigade, was operating in that direction. On May 3, the day Clive landed at Calcutta, the whole force advanced towards Korah, about twenty-five miles from

[1] Broome, Vol. I., p. 506. One evening, when walking round the ramparts of Chunar, an old pensioned native officer told the writer the story, with no little pride, of the successful defence of the Fort, as handed down by tradition. An ancestor had taken part in it, and afterwards entered the Company's service. His father had fought at Sobraon, and he, as a sepoy belonging to the 13th Native Infantry, had taken part in the defence of the Residency at Lucknow.

[2] Kālpī, a town in Jālun District, United Provinces.

Cawnpore. On arriving near the town Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded the advanced guard, fell in with the Mahratta force, and a skirmish ensued. A few rounds from the British guns threw their horsemen into confusion, and they retreated beyond the Jumna. Soon afterwards they again entered the Doab, and proceeded to lay waste the country. A detachment marched towards Allahabad, whilst the main body advanced to within a few miles of the British camp. Carnac determined to advance, and on May 20 the British force encamped opposite to Calpee, a place of great strategic importance. On the 22nd Sir Robert Fletcher, with a strong detachment, was ferried across the stream, and, after a stiff fight, drove the enemy from post to post. The Mahrattas retreated towards Gwalior; the British returned to Allahabad. The Nawab Vizier, seeing that his cause was hopeless, resolved to proceed to the English camp, and trust to the good faith and generosity of the victors. On the afternoon of May 26 the Nawab Vizier crossed the Ganges, accompanied by a few of his principal officers and about four hundred of his cavalry guard. "General Carnac, attended by his staff and the several Commanding Officers, proceeded to the banks of the river to receive him. Here they all dismounted from their horses, and the Nawaub Vuzier alighting from his palkee, embraced the General, who with his officers, met him with every mark of respect, and presented him each with a nuzzur, according to their rank." [1] General Carnac informed the President and Council of the arrival of the Vizier, and asked for instructions with regard to concluding a treaty with him. They informed him that the final settlement of terms must be reserved for the arrival of Clive in camp.

Before leaving Calcutta, Clive had come to the conclusion that a Council consisting of sixteen members was too large to be an efficient instrument of government, and he drafted a scheme for remodelling it. He proposed that the Members

[1] Broome, Vol. I., p. 522. Report from Brigadier-General Carnac to the President and Council, dated May 3, 1765.

of Council should be reduced from sixteen to twelve, and that the chiefs of subordinate factories should not be included. He further stated in a letter to Sumner, written from Cossimbazar on July 2, that there was no reason why vacancies to factories should be filled up from members of the Council: indeed, to fill them from Senior Merchants would be advantageous. "At least let them remain open until the pleasure of the Directors is known." The chief of a factory being also a member of the governing body increased enormously his local prestige and power, and lessened the control of his executive actions by the Council. The baneful rule that the chiefship of a factory was a prize for the senior members of Council led to Mr. Ellis being appointed to Patna. On July 5 Mr. Sumner, who was senior member of the Secret Committee, wrote to Clive that the scheme had proved impracticable, owing to positive orders from the Directors being produced in Council. "All I could do was to delay matters until your pleasure was known." He enclosed two extracts from the Court's General Letters, one dated February 8, 1764, making the Chiefship of Patna tenable only by a Councillor, the second dated June 1, 1764, making the Council not fewer than sixteen in number. Sumner had approved of the plan when it was laid before the Committee, and Clive answered as follows:

Moota Gyll
8th *July* 1765.

Sir,—I have receiv'd Your Letters, & have read them both over with great Attention, the last, I confess, with Surprise and Concern.

The Sentiments express'd in Your first Letter, correspond exactly with mine; but to see You so immediately change Your Opinion, from an Opposition of a few Debates in Council, by Gentlemen who are self interested, and who by their Conduct have exposed themselves to such a severe Censure, that I imagine few of them will escape Dismission from Service; that any Arguments, made use of by such Men, should have the least Weight with You, is to me most surprising. Nor am I less astonish'd that You should construe the Two Paragraphs of the 8th Febr. & 1st June 1764, into such positive Orders as cannot be set aside unless by the unanimous Consent and Resolution of the Council. Now, in my Opinion who had the Nomination of the Committee, and ought to be a Judge with what Powers, and upon what Terms I accepted the Government, We are empower'd to pursue

the Means we think proper, and to set aside, or suspend putting in Execution any Order we may think detrimental to the Company, the signing of the Covenants excepted. Your diffident Conduct therefore, tends towards lowering the real Consequence of the Committee, and restoring to the Gentlemen of Council that Power which they so dishonourably exerted, and which has reduced this Settlement to such a State of Anarchy and Confusion that one may boldly say, it's final Dissolution could not be far distant. A Conduct that tends to abolish the Power of the Committee, tends, consequently, to frustrate the Intentions of a General Court of Proprietors, who thought me a proper Person to curb that licentious Spirit of Disobedience in the Servants, and at the same time put a Stop to that Torrent of universal Corruption & Luxury which had almost overwhelm'd the Settlement. For my own part, if supported by General Carnac, Mess.rs Verelst & Sykes, as I doubt not I shall, I am determined, steadily to maintain that Plan laid down in my Letter to the Committee and their Answer to it upon the Opening of their Proceedings. Have You any Reason for a Change in Your Opinion since that time? I have none. So long as I have the Honor to preside, and enjoy the Satisfaction of knowing that the Sentiments of the Majority of the Committee, correspond with mine, I will not allow the Council to call in Question the Powers with which we are invested. It is recommended to us by the Directors, to lay such Matters before the Council as we think proper, *but the Power of determining, is in the Committee alone.* These are the express Words, and admit not a double Interpretation. To permit the Gentlemen of Council to determine a single Point which the Committee think should be determined by themselves alone, is to break thro' the very Letter as well as Spirit of the Powers, and to deviate even from our own avowed Resolution.

And now, Sir, if You will allow me the Liberty, I will give You what appears to me the best Advice, which, for your own Honor, and the Advantage of the Company, You ought to pursue.

Be persuaded, that the Proceedings of the Committee, will appear so very honorable, so very disinterested, and so evidently calculated for the Interest of the Company, that they must meet with universal Approbation outwardly; for even the worst of Men cannot, dare not set their Faces against Measures which will defend themselves. The Proceedings will shew to a Demonstration that Power has been lodged where it could not be biass'd by Corruption, and that the Gentlemen have made a willing Sacrifice of private Interest to public Benefit. The Proofs of Venality in a late Administration, now upon Record, & the numberless other Proofs which I have, and can have, of the Abuse of Power, from the Governor to the Writer. . . .[1]

Clive on the same day thus communicated his views to the other two members of the Committee:

[1] Letter incomplete in original.

GENTLEMEN,—Since mine of this Morning which was sent You by express Cossids I have had time to reflect upon Mr Sumner's Conduct whether it proceeds from a timid and weak Disposition, from a looseness of Principles, or being of our Opinion that such a Behavior may disgust me so much as to make me return to Europe by the first Opportunity I know not, certain it is however that I never will resign this Government untill the Court of Directors have approv'd or disapprov'd our Regulations.

His two Letters which both came by the same Post & my Answer will fully explain to You the Difference of our Interests & I desire You will both judge for yourselves as I have said to Mr Sumner it is a Matter of Indifference to me whether there be twelve Councillors or 16 employ'd at present but that the Council should be allow'd to be the Judges if the Committee should think otherwise is directly aiming at abolishing the Power of the Committee and restoring to the Council those Powers which they have already made so bad a Use of, frustrating the Intention of my coming abroad who was determin'd from the beginning never to subject myself to the Will & Pleasure of 16 Councillors surely the Committee can meet and determine whether 16 or a less Number of Councillors would be the most advantagious for carrying on the Affairs of the Compy and they may then lay their Resolution on that Head before the Council. I hope to hear from You soon and am Gentlemen

Yr most sincere & oblig'd Servt

CLIVE

MOOTAGYLL
8th *July* 1765.

Moota Gyll (Muti Jhil), or the Pearl Lake, was situated about two miles from Murshidabad. Clive halted here in order to interview the young Nawab of Bengal, and to suggest certain important changes in the administration of his government. Clive distrusted Mohammed Reza, and, to curtail his power, he appointed Rai Dulab and the two heads of the firm of Jagat Seth to be with him members of a Commission to carry on the administration under the direction of the Governor in Council His interviews with the young Nawab at Calcutta had convinced him that he was totally unfit to rule, and he was fast squandering the revenues of the state on the worthless favourites by whom he was surrounded. Clive therefore put forward a financial arrangement under which all the revenues of the three provinces were to be appropriated to the payment of the sums due to the Company, the expenses of the army, and the tribute to the Emperor, with the

exception of 50 lacs (£500,000) which was to be set aside for the expenses of the Nawab and members of the royal family. Clive, writing to the Select Committee on July 11 for their approval of the plan, said :

" Although the sum proposed to be stipulated for the Nabob, considering the present great expenses and demands, may appear large, yet, by what I now learn, his expense exceeds the sum to be allowed ; and although it is certain that neither his education nor abilities will enable him to appear to any advantage at the head of these great and rich provinces, yet, I think, we are bound in honour to support the dignity of his station, so far as is consistent with the true interest of the Company.

" The particulars of this matter may be farther adjusted in my absence by Mr. Sykes, to whom I have communicated my ideas, if the plan be approved of by the Select Committee ; and the whole may be finally concluded to our satisfaction, upon the Company's being appointed the King's Duan, who will be empowered, by the nature of their office, as well as by the King's consent, to settle every point." [1]

The same day, writing to Verelst regarding his interview with the Nawab, Clive says :

" He received the proposal of having a sum of money for himself and household at his will with infinite pleasure ; and the only reflection he made, upon leaving me, was, ' Thank God ! I shall now have as many dancing girls as I please.' " [2]

Clive proceeded on his journey, and he wrote to Carnac from near Succligurry, July 13, 1765 :

" I cannot help joining in opinion with both Committee & Council that His Majesty has been a great Clog upon our Proceed^s & I think we ought to be particularly careful in y^e Treaty we make w^th S. Dowla, that y^e Comp^y be not expos'd to any future Wars on y^e K's Acc^t at y^e same time I am far from leav^g him unprovid^d for. The rich Kingdom of Bengal may furnish him a very handsome annual Income, if he will but be satisf^d w^th resid^g in some place of Security & enjoying Ease & Plenty with^t teazing us to establish him on the Throne of Delhi.

" If y^e King will not accompany S. D. part of the way, I must go to him, which will take up much time, for I have Sunnuds &c to request of him, which must be granted before any thing can be settled on his Account, & at y^e same time to convince H.M. that I am not want^g in Attention to his Int^t where it can be done with^t hurting the

[1] Malcolm, Vol. III., p. 124. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Compy. I shall bring with me from ye Nabob in Bills of Exchae 5 Laaks of Rupt for the obtaing these favors. (I propose being at Patna on the 21st & expect to hear of your & S. D.'s arrival at, or about that time." [1]

Two days later he wrote to Sykes the following epistle, which displays none of the qualities of "The Polite Letter Writer":

GANGES 8 COSS FROM BOGLIPORE
15th *July* 1765

Dr SIR,—I have recd Yr Letter & the Behavr of Messrs Leycester & Gray is so ungratefl as well as boyish & ridiculs yt I am detd henceforwd to harbr in my Breast not ye least Compassn for such hardd Sinns & if upon my Return I continue in ye same Opinn which I am in at prest Mr Gray shall go to Pot; enclos'd I send You two Orig Papers, the 1st concerng Mr Gray sign'd by the Dinaghpore Raja. I desire You will get them translatd & send for ye Raja & such oths as will more fully prove & authenticate ye Facts, as I told You before M.R.C. & R.D.b are collectg numberless Proofs of this kind & by my Soul there seems such an universl Corruption as well as ill Will among ye Servts at being depriv'd of ye Opportg of conting ye same Practices that it will be necessy to lay ye whole before ye Compy to convince them of their Danger.

Sumner's Behavr is so inexpressibly weak & timid that I almost dread ye Conseqs of leavg him my Successr if a Fevr wd carry him off it wd be ye best thing that cd happn for ye Co how let his Apprehens be what they will, I hope long before this You have set out for ye City. Yr Presence there is much wanted. (I have desir'd ye King may meet me at Patna as well as S.D. if he does I shall make such Dispatch as to be at Calcutta in ye begg of Augt if possr (I have no othr News than that Affairs wear a very unfavorable Appearance for Master Sulivan.

I am
&c
CLIVE

P.S. I send You also a Lre to me from Mr Verelst of 28th June enclosg a Petition concerng Salt which I was to have represented at the City, but forgot it, I beg You will do it." [2]

Sykes had set out for the city, and on July 28 he forwarded to the Committee the Nawab's *purwannahs*, enabling the Company to enter immediately upon contracts. "The Nawab's business," he states, "has been settled upon the lines suggested by Lord Clive. Great harmony at present subsists." [3]

[1] Clive's Letters, 1765. [2] Powis MSS.
[3] Sykes to the Committee; Moradbang, July 28.

The next day he sent to Clive a copy of the letter with some further particulars, and he added: "The opposition of Leycester, Burdett and Gray is beginning to pass all reasonable bounds. I never saw or heard of such a spirit of villainy." [1] Clive reached Benares on August 1, and was received with full military honours. The next day he had two or three conferences with the Nawab Vizier,

"and intimated his intention of restoring all his dominions, except Allahabad, worth 10 lacs yearly, and perhaps Corah, valued at 18. 'His expressions of joy and gratitude upon this occasion,' say Lord Clive and General Carnac, in a joint letter of the Select Committee, 'were many and warm. Such an instance of generosity in a victorious enemy, exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and we doubt not will be the best foundation of that union and amity which we so earnestly wish to secure. He consents to pay to the Company 50 lacs for indemnification. These terms we think moderate and equitable, both for him and the Company.'" [2]

On August 3 he wrote to Sykes:

Benares
3d *Augt* 1765

Dr Sykes,—I am glad to hear you are at least arriv'd at Moorshedabad & I will venture to prophesy yt what wth attens ye Complaints of Injustice & political Matters, You will have enough to do. (It apps to me absy necessy yt you shd with delay be inform'd of what in all humn probability will be concludd upon at Illiabad that You may smooth ye way wth ye Nabob M R C. Roy Dullb & J. Seets & yt these Gentn may be ready to adopt the Plan which we are detd shall be adopted. (Upon my Arrivl here I found ye Genl all Affection & obedience. The misunderstandg which had arisen between us was entirely owing to ye Miscare of Lres & a little Negligence on his part in not writing oftner. He approves entirely of our Comm. Proceedg & of our Plan wth regd to circumscribg ye Nabb

As ye King is very slow in all his Motions, we think ye only way of shortining Matters will be to wait on his Majesty at Illiabd Accordingly Suja D. Mynheer a Dowla & Myself &c set out ye day after to morrow & I am much mistaken if 10 days does not bring to a Concln ye most glors honorable & advantg Event yt ever happen'd to this Compy (I have had 2 or 3 Conferences wth Suj. D. He is to have all his Countries restd to him except ye District of Illiabd producing 10 Lk of Rupg & Cora 18 Lk annually. I will endr to prevl upon H M, to give up ye Cora Country to S.D. in Consdn of

[1] Sykes to the Committee. [2] Malcolm, Vol. III., pp. 125–6.

what he is to receive from Bengal. (The aboves^d Countries are intend^d as a Roy^l Demesne as a Support in part for H.M. Nasib Cawn being a very amb^s enterpriz^g Man & nev^r hav^g had y^e Dist^t of Cora we think a Jagg^r out of y^t Country will be a suff^t Prov^n for him. (The Gen^l is very stren^s y^t y^e K. sh^d receive a Tribute from Bengal Bah^r & Or^a of 26 L^k y^e same which M. Jaff^r engaged to pay. I think 20 suff^t howev^r as we intend to make use of H.M. in a very extraord^y manner for obtain^g noth^g less y^n a Sunn^d for all y^e Rev^s of y^e Country 6 L^k of R^s will be scarce worth our disobligⁱ y^e K. if he sh^d make a point of it. (The Sunn^d for y^e Duannee I intend shall be worded in y^e Manner I appoint y^e Comp^y for ever to y^e Dewannee of Bengal & provided they pay me y^e stipulated Tribute allow y^e Nizar an ann^l Sum suff^t to supp^t his Dignity & keep up such an Army as may cover & defend y^e Prov^s of Beng^l Bah^r & Or^a after all these Exp^s are defr^d whatev^r rem^s I give to y^e Comp^y So y^t you see it will be necess^y for you to pave y^e way for such an Event by assum^g. y^t Authority which we mean shortly to take upon ourselves publicly. That R. Dull^b must be watch^d & not suff^d to pilfer steal extort or oppress & you must immed^y ord^r an exact state of y^e Beng^l & Or^a Rev^s to be prep^d for my Arriv^l I will take care to have one of Bah^r

These fat expensive Moormen who spend y^e Gov^t's Rev^s in Lux^y & Assw^s must pay y^r Rents reg^y in future or immed^y be turn'd out. indeed in my Op^n none but Jentoos ought to be Rent^s of Count^s who alw^s spend less y^n their Income & can when called upon make good any Defficiency in y^e Rev^s

I do not see y^e least Necess^y for y^e young Nab^s keep^g so many Seap^s & if a part of them be reduced a part of his All^e may be taken off, for so large a Sum of Money as 50 L^k will I fear distress y^e Comp^y & if he can be brought to do this & accept of 40—we can y^e better pay y^e King his 26. (I am und^r g^t uneas^s ab^t my Packet of L^rs P Tilbury which Sumner writes me he sent You by a light boat as I have not heard a Syll^e fro' You on y^e Sub^t (The Ord^s for all y^e Off^s sign^g y^e Cov^ts were issued out this day.

I am

&c

CLIVE

You may send a Copy of y^s to Verelst.

M^r Lear a free Merch^t at Patna wants a Dust^k for a very large Q^y of Opium, assert^g y^t it belong^s to M^r Hastings. But as I suppose it only a Pretence I have stopp'd it till I hear from You who must know the truth.

Please to deliv^r y^e enclos'd l^rs to y^e Nabob, M R Cawn, R. Dull^b & the Seets." [1]

The day after Clive's arrival he issued an order stating that "A General Court of Proprietors having resolved that

[1] Powis MSS.

certain Covenants should be executed by all officers in their service, and the Governor and Council having received the strictest injunctions from the Court of Directors to put the resolution of the said General Court in execution immediately, in obedience to their commands, it is hereby ordered that the said Covenants be immediately executed." [1] They were duly executed, and copies sent to the other military stations for signature. No objection was raised except by General Carnac. He had recently received a present of 80,000 rupees from the Rajah of Benares. The Covenants bore a date antecedent to that of the gift, but Carnac was not aware of their existence. He therefore refused to sign them till the date was altered, so as not to lay himself open to the charge of having violated the law. Mill states: "A few weeks afterwards, upon his return to Calcutta, he signed it, indeed without any scruple; but, in the interval, he had received a present of two lacks of rupees from the reduced and impoverished Emperor." The statement with regard to the two lacs of rupees is contrary to documentary evidence. The King offered the present. Carnac refused to accept it without the sanction of the Governor and Council. They referred it to the Court of Directors. Clive supported, both in his official and private correspondence, Carnac's claim to have the permission to accept the gift of the Emperor granted. Clive writes to Lady Clive:

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"He (Carnac) is worth 50,000 & will with the Consent of the Gov. & Councel be worth 80,000 the King I am informed being determined to desire leave of the Gov. & Councel for that Purpose, indeed his Majesty would be the most ungrateful King upon Earth if he did not, for never King receiv'd such essential Services, & such Marks of Respect & Devotion as have been paid him by Carnac." [2]

Clive, in a letter to Walsh, says:

"Among other papers, you will find a letter from the King to the Governor and Council, in favour of General Carnac. The 2 lacs of rupees he has given him is lodged in the public funds, until the pleasure of the Directors is known. I shall only say that Carnac

[1] Broome, Vol. I., pp. 527–8.
[2] Letter from Lord Clive to the Right Hon'ble Lady Clive; the Ganges, Near Banarass, August 24, 1765.

has acted with such moderation and honour in the service of the Company, and with such good deference and attention towards his Majesty the Great Mogul, that the Directors must be the most ungrateful of men, if they do not, by the return of this ship, or the first conveyance, order him this money, with a due encomium upon his services, disinterestedness, and modesty. I am sure your interest will not be wanting to push this matter to the utmost, if it be possible that such an order from the Court should meet with the least resistance." [1]

After discussing the proposed treaty with the Nawab, Clive, accompanied by Carnac and the Nawab Vizier, proceeded to Allahabad, where he had gone to reside in virtue of the treaty made by Munro according to the instructions of the President and Council. In consequence of that treaty, a *phirmaund* was issued by the Emperor on December 29, 1765, assigning the district of Ghazapore and the rest of the Zemindary of Raja Bulwant Singh to the Company, the Company engaging to put the Emperor in possession of Allahabad and the rest of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of Shuja Dowla. The arrangement was merely the baleful policy, thinly disguised, of Governor Spencer for making over Oudh to the powerful Rohilla Afghan who had been appointed regent of the Mogul throne, and for conducting Shah Alam by aid of a British force to Delhi. The conversion of Oudh into a kingdom of Rohilla chiefs would have been fatal to the peace and security of Bengal, and the forward march to Delhi would have inevitably led to war with the Afghans or Mahrattas. Clive decided that a settlement which determined the respective claims and boundaries of all the monarchs concerned in the preceding wars should take the place of the unjust and unworkable agreement made with Shah Alam alone. He formed a plan worthy of a great statesman. He resolved to restore Shuja Dowla to the dominion of the territories of Oudh.[2] Oudh was to be a barrier state, supported by a

[1] Malcolm, Vol. II., p. 369.

[2] Burke told the House of Lords: "With a generosity that astonished all Asia, he reinstated this expelled enemy of his nation peaceably upon his throne. And this act of politic generosity did more towards quieting the minds of the people of Asia than all the terror, great as it was, of the English arms." —Burke's Works, Vol. IX., p. 440.

defensive alliance between the Company, the Subahdar of Bengal, and the Nawab Vizier. The services of the Company's troops were required by the ruler of Oudh. It was stipulated that they should be paid for their services. The Emperor had granted the Company the rich Zemindary of the Rajah of Benares. Bulwant Singh had taken our part in the war, and "Lord Clive, generous to all," says Burke, "took peculiar care of our friends and allies." He proposed to confirm Bulwant Singh, under the British guaranty, in the rich principality which he held. The fugitive Emperor was to retain his residence in Allahabad, and, in order that he should enjoy a decent share of royal dignity, two outlying provinces of the Nawab Vizier should be allotted to him. As to Bengal, the young Nawab had fallen, by his agreement, from any real and effective power. Clive determined to combine responsibility with power, and, in return for the generous terms he offered the Emperor, to obtain from him for the Company the Diwani or management and collection of the revenues of the three provinces.

Clive arrived at Allahabad on August 9, and he had the same day frequent interviews with Shah Alam. The Emperor, driven from place to place, had entered our camp a fugitive ready to agree to any terms, but he now proceeded to make many demands. He requested that an arrear of thirty-two lacs of rupees due to him, as he alleged, from the Nawab of Bengal should be paid, but the Company could not be expected to discharge the debts of a government which had been the ally of the Emperor in a recent war against us. Mill writes:

"The sum which had, under the English authority, been assigned as the share due to him of the revenue of these provinces, was twenty-six lacks of rupees in money, and jaghires or land to the annual amount of five lacks and a half. The jaghires, it was now made known to him, he must henceforth renounce. He expressed warmth, and even resentment, upon the hardness of these arbitrary conditions; but the necessities of the humbled monarch left him without means of relief." [1]

[1] Mill, Vol. III., p. 286.

To have allowed the Mogul Emperor to retain *jaghires* in Bengal would have led to endless political complications. Shah Alam was most wise in promptly accepting the offer of twenty-six lacs, £325,000, paid monthly, guaranteed by the Company, in lieu of a tribute of twenty-six lacs, which for many years he stated had never reached him, and five and a half lacs derived from the rents of estates situated in the territory of the Nawab. The treaty with the Company had promised to put Shah Alam in possession of the wide kingdom of Oudh, but the Emperor knew he could neither govern it nor keep it, and he was pleased, in lieu of it, to be placed in possession of two fertile outlying provinces of the Nawab Vizier—Allahabad and Korah, whose yearly revenue was reckoned at twenty-eight lacs. A British force was to be posted at Allahabad for their protection. The fugitive Emperor lost no time in accepting these generous terms. At an audience held on the 11th they were finally settled. "We then presented the King," Clive and Carnac wrote to the Select Committee, "with two arzies (petitions), desiring he would grant to Nujm-u-Dowlah the Nizamut of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and to the Company, the Dewannee of the same provinces; to both of which His Majesty has signed his fiat, and the proper instruments for both are now drawing out." [1]

On August 12, 1765, the Emperor took his seat on a throne in Clive's tent. It did not stand, like the famous throne of his ancestors, on six massive feet of solid gold inlaid with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, but on an English dining-table. The body was not of solid gold emblazoned with priceless gems, but an arm-chair covered with some drapery. The Imperial firmaun, having been read and executed, was handed to Clive by His Majesty. The following is a translation of the Magna Charta of the Company:

"Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, to the Company. Dated August 12th, 1765.

"At this happy time our royal Firmaun, indispensibly requiring

[1] Malcolm, Vol. III., p. 127.

obedience, is issued, That whereas in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift, and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewannee, which used to be paid to the court; it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Bahader, and regularly remit the same to the royal Sircar; and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requisite that our royal descendents the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the Dowannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them, as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

"Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos. (the 12th Aug. 1765.)" [1]

On August 16 a treaty between the Nawab Vizier, the Nawab of Bengal and the Company was "signed, sealed, and solemnly sworn, according to their respective faiths by the contracting parties at Illahabad." By Article 6, "In consideration of the great expence incurred by the English Company in carrying on the late war His Highness agrees to pay them (fifty) 50 lacs of rupees." "This indemnification we know is inadequate," Clive wrote to the Court of Directors, "but his circumstances would not afford more without oppressing the country, and thereby laying the foundation of future

[1] Verelst, Appendix, p. 167.

contention and trouble; and accordingly you will perceive that no money is granted for any other consideration whatever." By the following Article, the Fort of Chunar was to remain in the possession of the Company until the money was paid. By the 5th, His Highness "engages in the most solemn manner to continue Bulwantsing in the Zemindarees of Benares, Ghazepore, and all those districts he possessed at the time he came over to the late Nabob, Jaffier Ally Khan and the English, on condition of his paying the same revenue as heretofore." [1] By the 3rd, "His Highness solemnly engages never to entertain or receive Cossim Ally Khan, the late Subahdar of Bengal, &c. Sombroo the assassin of the English, nor any of the European deserters, within his dominions, nor to give the least countenance, support or protection to them: he likewise solemnly engages to deliver up to the English, whatever Europeans may in future desert from them into his country." [2] By the 10th, "As soon as this treaty is executed, the English Forces shall be withdrawn from the dominions of His Highness, except such as may be necessary for the garrison of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the King in the city of Illahabad, if His Majesty should require a force for that purpose." [3] The treaty was sealed and approved by the Emperor. On August 19 an agreement was made between the Emperor and the Company "relating to the tribute to be paid to him from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa." The Nawab, Najim-ud-Dowla, the first Article states,

"agrees to pay to his Majesty out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, the sum of 26 lacs of rupees a year, without any deduction for Batta on bills of exchange, by regular monthly payments, amounting to rupees 216,666–10–9 per annum, the first payment to commence from the 1st September of the present year; and the English Company, in consideration of his Majesty's having been graciously pleased to grant them the Dewannee of Bengal, &c., do engage themselves to be security for the regular payment of the same . . . but in case the territories of the aforesaid Nabob should be invaded by any foreign enemy, a deduction is then to be made out of the stipulated revenues, proportionable to the damage that may be sustained." [4]

[1] Broome, Appendix X. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

By a second Article, Shah Alam bound himself to pay annually two lacs of rupees to Nudjuf Khan, a powerful Bundelkund chief, in consideration of having joined the English forces, and acted in His Majesty's service in the late war. By subsequent firmauns the Emperor confirmed to the Company their other possessions in Bengal, and the grant of Clive's *jaghire* to them was also confirmed. He ratified all the grants which the Company had obtained from the Nawab of Arcot, and he granted to them the Northern Sircars, which Clive and Forde had wrested from the French.

Clive, acting with promptitude and address, negotiated and settled in a week two treaties which composed the differences between three great powers. He obtained from the Emperor for the Company the office of Diwan. "This is," says Burke, "the great act of the constitutional entrance of the Company into the body politic of India. It gave to the settlement of Bengal a fixed constitutional form, with a legal title, acknowledged and recognized now for the first time by all the natural powers of the country, because it arose from the charter of the undoubted sovereign."[1] On August 20 Clive and Carnac forwarded to the Select Committee translations of the treaty between the Nawab Vizier, the Nawab of Bengal and the Company, and also of the firmaun. Regarding the treaty they wrote:

"It gives Us real concern to acquaint You that Sujah Dowla expressed the greatest reluctance at consenting to the 8th Article. He frankly confessed that our encroachments in Bengal with regard to Trade and the great abuses and exactions committed by the Company's Servants & others countenanc'd by them made him apprehensive of the Consequences in his own Dominions, and that he dreaded much our having Factories &c^{a} would, if any thing could, cause a Rupture betwixt Us, in short the Nabob expressed so much uneasiness about the word Factories, particularly, that at last We agreed to leave it out, as You will observe in the Treaty, and indeed We cannot help thinking from the appearance of things at present,

[1] Burke, Vol. IX., p. 441. Mill writes: "The phirmaun of the dewannee, which marks one of the most conspicuous eras in the history of the Company, constituting them masters of so great an empire, in name and responsibility, as well as in power, was dated the 12th day of August, 1765."—"History of British India," Vol. III., p. 286.

that We had better withdraw the Factory of Benares altogether when Bulwund Sing's Engagement to the Company expires." [1]

Soon after the dispatch of this letter Clive left Allahabad. On his arrival at Calcutta he determined to reorganise the Bengal Army according to the scheme, slightly altered and improved, which he had planned in England. On August 5, when he was at Benares on his way to Allahabad, an order was issued telling off the Bengal Army into three separate brigades of similar strength and composition. Each brigade consisted of one company of artillery or one company of guns, as they were then called, one regiment of European infantry,[2] one rissalah of native cavalry, and seven battalions of sepoys. The troop of European cavalry, which was too small to be divided among three brigades, was disbanded, and the men transferred to the infantry and artillery. A small number were, however, retained as a body-guard for the Governor. The artillery was formed into four companies, one to each brigade; the other stationed at Fort William. John Carnac, Esq., Brigadier-General of the King's and Company's forces, Colonel of the First Regiment of Infantry, commanded the 1st Brigade; Richard Smith, Esq., Colonel in His Britannic Majesty's forces, and Colonel of the Second Regiment of Infantry in the Honourable Company's service on the Bengal establishment, commanded the 2nd Brigade, and Colonel Sir Robert Barker the 3rd. General Carnac's presence, both as Commander-in-Chief and member of the Select Committee, being constantly required at Fort William, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded the regiment, was also placed in command of the brigade. The 1st Brigade was stationed at Monghyr, furnishing the requisite details for the Presidency and Murshidabad; the 2nd Brigade was stationed at Allahabad; and the 3rd Brigade at Patna, with Headquarters at Bankipore, the western suburb of the city.

[1] Powis MSS.

[2] The Bengal European Regiment was now divided into three distinct regiments or battalions.

Clive developed, trained, and tempered the army which he organised. He had learnt from his victories that discipline is the great secret of all ascendancy in war. Military discipline can only be cultivated by efficient regimental officers. He introduced into one brigade more field officers than there were in the whole force a few months before.[1] But the majority were young men fresh from England, who had but little professional training, and had not learnt to render implicit obedience. The senior officers in the Native battalions had learnt the details of the profession in the camp, and the wider principles of combined effort in the field of battle. But European officers of the Native army came into contact with a variety of races and creeds, and Clive impressed on them the necessity of studying their different temperaments and prejudices. Rigid discipline must be maintained, but it must be combined with friendliness and sympathy. In order that the British officer should understand the temper of the sepoys, he laid stress on his acquiring a knowledge of their language, and that he should throw all his faculties into his regiment, and glory in it, and prosper in it. He insisted on every officer on the list being effective. All officers on other than regimental employ were immediately struck off the roll of the corps.

Clive had the gift of discerning merit, and the courage to promote merit over the head of rank. In a letter, written after he left Allahabad, to Colonel Smith, he thus expressed his views :

"There is one step to be taken with Regard to the Seapoys, which I think will bring them to the greatest Perfection Seapoys can be brought to, viz, the Officers commanding the Seapoys to run in that Corps only, by which Means all the Officers will understand the Language, without which it is impossible to bring the Seapoys to that Pitch of Discipline, which will make them truly formidable, neither will it be any Injustice to the Officers of the Regiments, since the Number of Officers in the Seapoys will be nearly equal to 'em in the European Infantry. When the Captains of Seapoys are of Rank sufficient to claim a Majority they will undoubtedly be intitled to it if deserving.

"If You sh[d] see the General consult together, & give me your Sentiments on this Matter." [2]

[1] Caraccioli, Vol. II., p. 489. [2] Powis MSS.

The day after, Clive wrote as follows to his wife:

The Ganges near Banarass
24th *Augt* 1765.

I have receiv'd many Letters from the dearest of Wifes & best of Parents who is seldom out of my thoughts one day together notwithstanding the great & Important Concerns of the Company which take up the whole of my time, indeed I am very much alter'd of late for I am always at the Pen nor can I avoid it consistent with my Duty to my Employers.

It must afford You a particular Pleasure to hear that I enjoy my Health better than in England and that Action as formerly agrees better with me than Indolence & Laziness. I have been 700 Miles up the Country in the Midil of the rainy Season, his Majesty the Great Mogul & the Prime Vizier & Myself have been very great together Matters are settled to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties, by a firm & I hope lasting Peace, so that Tranquility is once more restored to these much ravaged & desolated Provinces it would amaze you (as Harry expresses himself) to hear what Diamonds Rubies & Gold Mohurs have been offer'd to Lady Clive because she has not sign'd Covenants however I have refused anything & have supported my Dignity & kept up my Integrity in the midil of ten thousand Temptations this will not however prevent my sending my Wife some Valuable Presents which I cannot avoid receiving being Nagarane & presented in a public Manner, it will indeed rest with the Directors whether I shall pay for them as I am determined to receive nothing not even of the most trifling Nature without giving them the particulars.

Poor Hern is dead owing I fear to his overfatiguing himself in the Management of my Affairs, he will be a very great Loss to me, Mure, the Dr Mr Strachey, Philpot, William & Dick are all with me but Philpot descending the River at a great Rate towards Calcutta, that there may be no time lost in dispatching the *Admiral Stevens* who will carry home to the Company the most Important advices they ever receiv'd & If what I have already done & propose to do doth not convince the Proprietors of the Disinterestedness as well as Integrity of my Principles & of my Resolution to exert my Abilities to the utmost in Defence of their Property which has been very much sported with of late by Men of as bad Hearts as Heads, I shall disdain in future throwing away one thought more on so ungrateful a Society.

I am as happy as a Man at such a Distance from his Wife and Family can well be, I have the Testimony of a good Conscience to support me in the most arduous Task that ever was undertaken, no less than a total Reformation in every Branch of the Civil & Military Departments never was such a Scene of Anarchy & Confusion, Bribery, Corruption & Extortion seen or heard of as has been exhibited in the Bengal Dominions for this Year past especialy, however I have made a great Progress towards domolishing these great & growing Evils

in which I have been admirably supported by an Unanimous & public Spirited Committee, indeed I suffer no Anxiety of Mind but what arises on my Wife's Account & from the Reflection of what she must suffer from so long & cruel a Separation, however I am persuaded your good Sense will suggest to You our Separation was unavoidable, & that the Duty you ow'd to a growing & encreasing Family was much superior to that of attending your Husband, rest satisfied in the reflection of whatever *is, is right* & there is the greatest probability we shall meet again tho' not so soon as I expected when we parted from one another in Berkeley Square, the Length of our Passage will not admit of my resigning the Government untill I have an Answer to my Dispatches by this Ship which cannot well be before July or Aug^{t} 1766, I have informed the Directors that No Consideration on Earth shall induce me to stay beyond that Year, and as we shall come most of the Way by Land we must arrive in England some time in April 1767. I shall be accompanied by General Carnac & all the Family who came out with me, the General is in perfect Health & the Friendship subsisting between us renew'd & greater than ever, he is worth 50,000L & will with the Consent of the Gov. & Councel be worth 80,000 the King I am informed being determined to desire leave of the Gov. & Councel for that Purpose, indeed his Majesty would be the most ungrateful King upon Earth if he did not, for never King receiv'd such essential Services, & such Marks of Respect & Devotion as have been paid him by Carnac.

I am sorry poor S. James hath been disappointed of the 2000L I intended him I have executed the Bond sent me by M^{r} Harry Clive & enclose it to You that You may present it with your own Hands & receive that Pleasure which you always enjoy upon doing a good and generous Action.

I am glad that Walcot is agreable to You & that it is made habitable & convenient, I shall order my Attorneys to spare no Cost or Pains to render it what I would wish it to be against the time of my Arrival, with Regard to Berkeley Square the Chairs, Couches &c. were all worn out when I left it, I would have the Grand Flight of Rooms furnished in the richest & most elegant Manner, a Man of great Taste & Judgment should be consulted & if any additional Rooms can be built without spoiling or Darkning the others you have my consent for erecting them, I do empower You to make the House at Berkeley Square as fine & convenient as You please immediately what can I say more. I must leave off for the present & continue this Epistle upon my Arrival at Calcutta.[1]

[1] Powis MSS.

CHAPTER VII

1765–7: GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

CLIVE had a triumphant return to Calcutta on September 6, 1765.[1] Many weighty and difficult questions confronted him, but he was as active and indefatigable in peace as he was in war. The Diwani was the first intricate problem. The Diwan was the Finance Minister, and his duties involved not only the collecting of the revenue, but also, as has been said, a power of extensive jurisdiction in all civil and financial cases.

When the Diwani passed into the hands of the Company the civil administration, owing to the violence of Meer Cossim and the weakness of Meer Jaffier, had fallen into darkness and confusion. There was an uncontrolled exercise of power throughout every department in the State. "Inferior officers employed in the collections were permitted to establish a thousand modes of taxation. Fines were levied at pleasure without regard to justice, and, while each felt in his turn the iron rod of oppression, he redoubled these extortions on all beneath him."[2] A want of knowledge, or even of the means of obtaining information, rendered the correction of these abuses almost impossible. Besides lack of knowledge, there were many other sound reasons which concurred to make any direct interposition in the civil administration at this time highly impolitic. There were not sufficient efficient instruments to destroy the iron-handed extortion and unrelenting tyranny of the Mohammedan officials and to administer directly vast and complicated systems of land tenures. The majority of the officials were factors and writers trained in mercantile

[1] Not September 7, as often stated. He wrote to the Emperor on September 7: "Arrived safely at Calcutta on the 6th of this month."

[2] Verelst, "Government in Bengal."

habits, careful keepers of their accounts, who regarded a newly acquired country merely as a fresh field for financial exploitation. They had no knowledge of the peasantry and no administrative training.

In the provinces ceded by Meer Cossim the revenues had been subject to the direct administration of Europeans, but the experiment had not proved a success. Clive was compelled to trust to native agency. But he appointed the Resident at Murshidabad to be also Supervisor of Collections under the inspection and control of the Select Committee.

"In conjunction with Mahomed Reza Cawn, he superintends the whole collections, receives the monthly payments from the Zemindars, disburses the stated revenues appropriated to the King and the Nabob, enquires into the causes of deficiencies, redresses injuries sustained or committed by the officers of the revenue and transmits the accounts of his office, the invoices of treasure, and the monthly account of the treasury, with every other occurrence of importance to the President and Select Committee." [1]

The collections of the province of Behar were placed under the immediate direction of the Chief at Patna, who acted jointly with the Governor of the province, and as a subordinate to the Resident at the Court. By the bestowal of the Diwani the Company had a legitimate authority over the revenue administration, but the Nawab of Bengal, as Nazim or Viceroy of the Emperor, had, by the constitution of the later Mogul Empire, the military command, and superintended the administration of law, justice, and police. The English had, by their treaty with the Nawab, taken over the military defence of the country, but to take over the law courts and justice would be the entire destruction of the Nawab's authority and Native government.

Clive considered it prudent to avoid as much as possible all appearance of dominion, for it was bound to arouse the jealousy of the Native powers and the other European settlements. By the Treaty of Paris the French were about to have restored to them Chandernagore and other places in

[1] To the Honourable the Court of Directors; Fort William, January 24th, 1767.—Verelst, Appendix, p. 41.

Bengal, and Holland, at Chinsura, was a power to be considered. In a letter drafted by Clive to the Secret Committee, after informing the Court that the utility and necessity of the grant of the Diwani became every day more evident, he states :

" All cause of contention with the government is now removed ; security to the property, freedom to the trade, and protection to the persons of the native inhabitants are insured. Funds for the provision of your investments, for the maintenance of your troops, and for the necessities of war, are established. Influence to command respect is acquired ; and we may, in our present circumstances, be regarded as the spring which, concealed under the shadow of the Nabob's name, secretly gives motion to this vast machine of government, without offering violence to the original constitution. The increase of our own, and diminution of his power, are effected without encroachment on his prerogative. The Nabob holds in his hands, as he always did, the whole civil administration, the distribution of justice, the disposal of offices, and all those sovereign rights which constitute the essence of his dignity, and form the most convenient barrier between us and the jealousy of the other European settlements." [1]

Clive was determined that the Company should be the mainspring of the Government, but he was not guilty of the folly, too often committed, of attempting to attain his object by clogging the wheels of the Native administration. The great business of his policy was to make that administration as efficient as possible. His first mode of accomplishing it was bold, wise, and novel. The three Natives who held the highest offices in the State were dependent " for the maintenance and support of their dignity on certain emoluments and perquisites which have always, by the custom of the country, been annexed to their country and stations." In the place of these emoluments and perquisites the Secret Committee assigned stated salaries to the Ministers. The Secret Committee, or Clive through the Secret Committee, when informing the Company of the step they had taken, say :

" By suffering the principal officers of the government to depend, for the support of their dignity, on the precarious fund of perquisites, we in a manner oblige them to pursue oppressive and corrupt measures,

[1] Verelst, Appendix, pp. 40–1.

equally injurious to the country and to the Company. We are likewise of opinion, that it is more becoming the dignity of your government, more consistent with your true interest, and more conformable to the plan we have adopted of conciliating to us the minds of the natives, that a stop should, in future, be put to the necessity of those exactions, which, though customary, must nevertheless be grievous to the people ; and we have therefore, upon due consideration of the necessary expences consequent on their rank, station, and offices, assigned twelve lacks of rupees a year for the maintenance and support of Mahommed Reza Cawn, Roy Dullub, and Shetabroy, who hold in their hands the most important employments of the government." [1]

They added :

" We have only to observe farther upon this subject, that great and enormous as the sum must appear which we have allotted for the support of the ministers of the government, we will not hesitate to pronounce that it is necessary and reasonable, and will appear so on consideration of the power which men employed on those important services have either to obstruct or promote the public good, unless their integrity be confirmed by the ties of gratitude and interest." [2]

Clive not only introduced the principle of allowing liberal salaries to the Native Ministers, but he also introduced a plan for granting out of the revenues of the State liberal salaries to the heads of responsible offices and senior servants of the Company. A source of revenue inherited from the Company's predecessors was the tax on salt. Under the Mohammedan Government an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. payable by Gentoos, and 2½ per cent. payable by Mussulmans, was levied at Hugli on the wholesale price of salt transported into the interior of the country. It was also, under Moslem sway, a monopoly in the hands of some person or persons who paid large sums of money to the Nawab or his Ministers for farming the trade. When Clive retook Calcutta and the 24 Pergunnahs became the property of the Company, a transit duty was levied on all boats conveying salt from the manufacturing districts, and a tax was also imposed on all salt manufactured within the Company's territory.

The story has been told how the abuse of the private trade

[1] Verelst, Appendix, pp. 42–3. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

led to the war with Meer Cossim. When the Court Director learnt what was taking place in Bengal, and came to the conclusion that the misunderstandings and difficulties with Meer Cossim were due to "the unwarrantable and licentious manner" of carrying on the private trade, they sent positive orders in a dispatch dated February 8, 1764:

"That from the receipt of this letter, a final and effectual end be forthwith put to the inland trade in salt, beetle nut, tobacco, and in all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country; and that all European and other Agents, or Gomastahs, who have been concerned in such trade, be immediately ordered down to Calcutta, and not suffered to return, or be replaced as such, by any other persons." [1]

The Directors did not prohibit the duty levied on the manufacture of salt, which increased their revenue by about £50,000 a year, but they prohibited their own servants or any Europeans having any connection with the inland trade. After these orders were sent, a copy of the treaty entered into with Meer Jaffier upon his re-establishment in the Nawabship was received by the Court. In this treaty it was agreed that the privilege of free trade granted to all merchants by Meer Cossim for the space of two years should be revoked and the duties collected as before. But the English were to carry on their trade free from all duties, taxes, and impositions in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of 2½ per cent. should be levied on the Hugli market price.

Clive objected strongly to these iniquitous terms. In the letter which he wrote to the Court on April 27, 1764, accepting the office of Governor of Bengal for a second term, he said:

"The trade, therefore, of salt, beetle and tobacco having been one of the causes of the present disputes, I hope these articles will be restored to the Nabob and your servants forbidden to trade in them." In the same letter he stated: "The odium of seeing such monopolies in the hands of foreigners need not be insisted on."

The Proprietors were, however, unwilling that the Company's servants, a large number of whom were sons or relatives,

[1] *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VII., p. 530.

should be deprived of the privilege of augmenting their slender incomes by trade or the opportunity of making a fortune. At a General Court held on May 18, 1764, a resolution was passed

"That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to re-consider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the trade of the Company's servants in the articles of salt, betel nut and tobacco; and that they do give such directions for regulating the same, agreeable to the interest of the Company and Subah, as to them may appear most prudent, either by settling here at home the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William to regulate this important point in such a manner as may prevent all future disputes betwixt the Subah and the Company." [1]

In consequence of this resolution, the Directors sent out a General Letter dated June 1, 1764, which, while professing to modify their previous instructions, left their abolition to an indefinite time. They expressed their conviction that the existing terms on which the English carried on the private inland trade were very injurious to the Nawab and to the Natives.

"The orders therefore," they wrote, "in our said letter of the 8th February are to remain in force, until a more equitable and satisfactory plan can be formed and adopted; which it is impossible for us to frame here, destitute as we are of the informations and lights necessary to guide us in such an important affair." [2]

They directed that the Nawab should be consulted as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade, "which may be most to his satisfaction and advantage, the interest of the Company, and likewise of the Company's servants." They added:

"You are therefore to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the said trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied by such explanations, observations, and remarks, as may enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon, in a full and explicit manner."

The ship which bore Clive also carried the dispatch. Aware of the resolution of the General Court, and probably of the

[1] "Clive": Arbuthnot, Appendix, pp. 241–2.
[2] *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VII., p. 531.

orders contained in the General Letter, Clive, during the voyage, came to the conclusion that by the operation of official arrangement the existing system of private trade, with all its oppressions and abuses, might be abolished, and a system perpetuated which would benefit the Company, its servants, and the native merchants.

When Clive arrived at Calcutta, he found that the orders of the Directors regarding the abolition of the private trade had been completely ignored. He saw a necessity for attempting a new and complete reformation, but so complex and invidious a work required careful inquiry and handling. The stringent covenants, prohibiting the receipt of presents, which he had compelled the officials to sign, deprived them of one mode of increasing their inadequate salaries, and the immediate prohibition of the privilege of carrying on the inland trade before an equitable plan was framed would deprive them of the other resource.

"It was not expedient, however, to draw the reins too tight. It was not expedient that the Company's servants should pass from affluence to beggary. It was necessary that some emoluments should accrue to the servants in general, and more especially to those in superior stations, who were to assist in carrying on the measures of government. The salary of a councillor is, I think, scarcely three hundred pounds per annum: and it is well known that he cannot live in that country for less than three thousand pounds. The same proportion holds among the other servants." [1]

It was necessary that some emoluments should accrue to the servants in general, but, also, some provision should be made for Strachey, Ingham, and Maskelyne, whom he had taken out on his staff. "These gentlemen I certainly meant to serve," he told the House of Commons, "but I meant to serve them in a way that should be honourable for themselves and honourable for me, and that should at the same time be consistent with the interest of the Company." Not for his individual profit, but for their benefit, he entered soon after he landed into a trading partnership with Messrs. Sumner, Sykes and Verelst. Mill describes the transaction as "suspicious,"

[1] "Clive": Arbuthnot, Appendix, pp. 246–7.

and denounces the defence that it was done to remunerate Clive's staff, in his most bitter and unfair manner. He writes: "If a proceeding is in its own nature shameful, there is but little saved when the emolument is only made to go into the pocket of a connexion." Maskelyne alone was his connection, and he acted as aide-de-camp to the President's household. The emoluments were given for service rendered to Clive as Governor. There was nothing shameful or suspicious in the nature of the transaction, though it might be regarded as impolitic and injudicious. Clive thus communicated his views to the House of Commons:

"I stood in a particular point of view; my situation was nice and critical; the eyes of the whole settlement were upon me. It was difficult for me to take any steps with regard to those gentlemen without being condemned. They had executed no covenants; I might have suffered them to receive presents to any amount: the world would then have said that I carried them out with me in order to evade my own convenants, and to receive presents for me, as well as for themselves. I might have granted them the privilege of trade, the advantage of which, under my favour and credit, might have been to any amount. The objection to this also was obvious: it would have been said that my own interest was at the bottom; that they traded under my influence; and that the extent of their concerns interfered with persons who had a better right. It was therefore determined that they should not benefit themselves a farthing but by what they should receive from my hands.

"My share, as Governor, in the salt society, and also the manner in which it was disposed of, were publicly known both here and abroad before my return to England; and yet this latter has of late been considered as something clandestine. But I think I can prove to the satisfaction of this House that it was known to everybody."

During the time that Clive was up the country settling the treaty with the Nawab and obtaining the grant of the Diwani, Mr. Sumner was employed in ascertaining the medium price of salt throughout the country for twenty years past. On August 3 Sumner wrote to Clive from Chandernagore, "When I return to Calcutta your plan about the Inland Trade shall be presented without loss of time." At a meeting of the Select Committee held on August 10, Messrs. Sumner and Verelst being the only two members present, the plan

of the inland trade was drawn up. When Clive returned to Calcutta, another meeting was held on September 18, 1765, at which all the details of the scheme were settled. The trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco was to be conducted solely by a society in which all the Company's servants except writers, and also all officers except those below the rank of majors and chaplains and surgeons, were to have shares according to their respective rank. The capital for carrying on the trade was to be furnished by the holders of shares in their due proportion. The affairs of the society were to be conducted by a Committee of Trade, who were to ascertain the amount of capital required. The salt was to be furnished to them by contractors, and was to be sold at various important centre stations by agents, generally Europeans, appointed by the Committee of Trade, the purchasers from whom would carry and sell it over the country. The selling price at the remote stations was fixed at rates 12 or 15 per cent. below the average rate of the twenty years preceding. "Hence it was not probable," said Clive, "that any grievance should fall upon the poor, and the plan was settled for one year only, that we might have an early opportunity of completing afterwards what was originally intended as an experiment." A duty of 35 per cent. was established for the Company, who, by the treaty with the Nawab, were in his place. It was calculated that this would yield the Company £120,000 per annum. Out of the profit, that of a colonel and Members of Council would amount to £7,000 per annum. As these proprietors had only two shares, the Governor's five shares would yield an income of £17,500. These were certainly large sums, but small compared with the profits made by inland trade, and also small compared with the salaries assigned to the Native Ministers at the Court of the Nawab.

The pecuniary success of the experiment at the close of the first year was great, but Clive discovered serious defects in the plan.

"It was really a monopoly," he said. "The trade was taken out of the hands of some of the merchants. The proportion of the

Company's servants was too large, the duty to the Company was too small. The agents appointed to sell the salt had made an improper use of their power; they had not strictly kept up to their contract, which was that they should receive five per cent. upon the sale of salt as a recompense for their trouble, and that they should not enter into any trade for themselves, under a very severe penalty."

Clive therefore prepared a plan for next year, "which I think destroyed every idea of monopoly." This may be questioned, but the new plan was certainly a material improvement. The following is his own account of the second plan:

"The society, instead of employing agents up the country to dispose of the salt, were to sell it at Calcutta, and at the places where it was made, to the black merchants only, who were each limited to a certain quantity of purchase, and tied down to a price for sale at every market town. The duty to the Company was now established at fifty per cent, which would produce £160,000 per annum; the black merchants were to have the liberty of transporting the salt all over the country, free from every taxation or obstruction; and the strictest orders were issued that no Englishmen, or their agents, should directly or indirectly have any further concern in it."

In "Considerations on Indian Affairs," published at the time by Mr. Bolts, which contains clever misrepresentations on almost every page, there is given a copy of a bond, by which it appears that Clive sold his concern in salt for £32,000. The following is the explanation given by Clive to the House of Commons:

"I do acknowledge there is such a bond, but the sum actually received by me on that account amounted only to about £10,800. The fact was this: I could not think of suffering the three beforementioned gentlemen who had accompanied me to India to return to England without realising something on their account; I said so to my friends in Bengal. The salt concern was of a very extensive, tedious nature, and the accounts might not be made up in some years. Could I, in honour, leave those gentlemen in a situation which made it doubtful when they should receive anything, and to what amount? I told them I would not: I told them I would get rid of this salt concern at once, that they might be secure of the money amongst them. I therefore disposed of my whole concern in salt, even my share for the second year, which was just commenced, for the sum mentioned in the bond. But when the mode of a commission of one and one-eighth per cent. on the revenues were settled for the Governor in lieu of every other emolument, I then relinquished my

share in salt for that year (the second year) in which I was to receive the commission, and had paid back about £20,000 of the £32,000."

Clive had a strict account of every sixpence he received or disbursed from the day of his leaving England to the day of his return. It was taken from his books which were kept all the time by Mr. Verelst, and was communicated to the Company, and afterwards laid before Parliament. The account shows clearly that Clive, instead of adding to his fortune during his last administration of Bengal, was a loser to the extent of £5,816. On September 30, 1765, Clive wrote as follows:

"That you may assert with confidence the justice of my cause, I do declare, by the God who made me, it is my absolute determination to refuse every present of consequence, and that I will not return to England with one rupee more than what arises from my Jagir. My profits arising from salt shall be divided among those friends who have endangered their lives and constitutions in attending me. The congratulatory nazzars, etc., shall be set opposite to my extraordinary expenses; and if aught remains, it shall go to Poplar or some other hospital."

Clive was most exact in the keeping of his accounts, for, though profusion was a natural element in his character, he would not permit the wasteful expenditure of an ill-regulated establishment. He knew the importance of pomp and show in the government of Orientals, and, as Governor of Bengal, he assumed considerable dignity and splendour. The following is a contemporary account of his private life:

"The very furniture of Government House, the tapestries and carpets, the magnificent plate, the splendid equipages, were the envy of the settlement, and his frequent sumptuous costly entertainments their delight. His hospitality was ample, but in his private life his mode of living was not more lavish than what was customary in a wealthy and luxurious community. Dinner, according to the custom of the time, was served at 2 P.M., and a few select friends of his Select Committee, or some other senior servants of the Company, dined with him. His table was served with delicacy and profusion, and all the most exquisite wines of Europe were at the discretion of his guests. If he were in good humour, he would encourage a free circulation of the bottle, and by intervals stimulate mirth and jollity; but he soon relapsed into his natural pensive mood, and was after

silent for a considerable time. His conversation was not lively, but rational and solid. As he seldom drank freely enough to be seen without disguise, he was impenetrable, except to a few confidants to whom he entrusted the execution of his schemes and designs. It was not often that his guests were allowed a greater latitude of freedom, as he was always stately and commonly reserved. After dinner he took sometimes a little repose, as it is customary in this torrid region."

At the approach of sunset and its attendant sea breeze, he went with a few companions to some gardens which were then a favourite resort of the world of fashion. They returned by starlight to a sumptuous supper, and, after it, Clive played " in a select company " at cards, of which he was fond. But " these fashionable amusements," says a contemporary, " gave him no real pleasure or satisfaction." Clive was a soldier, and he was always happy when he exchanged the luxury of Government House for the simpler habits of a camp life. Government House was no home to him, separated from his family and the devoted wife to whose constant care he owed much of the happiness of his clouded life. On September 25 Clive wrote to his cousin as follows :

" I am glad you have put a stop to Styche expenses : they became enormous, and it will be time enough to go on with them upon my arrival in England ; but I approve greatly of your repairing Walcot, and making it fit for Lady Clive's reception. The only concern I feel arises from a conviction of what she must suffer from so long an absence." [1]

The following day he wrote thus to his father :

" Although I enjoy better health than in England, India is by no means agreeable to me, separated as I am from my wife, children, and dearest relations. The length of our passage will make my absence one year more than I intended, but this you may be assured of, that nothing shall detain me in Bengal beyond the beginning of December, 1766 ; and I hope to see you all in good health and spirits some time in April, 1767.

" I have been seven hundred miles up the country, and have been very conversant with his Majesty, the Great Mogul. He has made me one of the first omrahs, or nobles, of his empire. I have concluded a peace for the Company, which I hope will last, and obtained from the King a grant of a revenue of 2,000,000£ sterling per annum for them for ever ; and, what is more, I have put them on a way of

[1] Gleig, p. 207.

securing this immense revenue, in such a manner that it is almost impossible to deprive the Company of it, at least for some years to come.

"With regard to myself, I have not benefited or added to my fortune one farthing, nor shall I; though I might, by this time, have received 500,000£ sterling. What trifling emoluments I cannot avoid receiving shall be bestowed on Maskelyne, Ingham, and Strachey, as a reward for their services and constant attention upon my person. I am much obliged to the Doctor for his care of my health: he is worth about 2000£ already. This ship, sent express, will bring the Company the most important news they ever received; and, if they are not satisfied with mine and the Committee's conduct, I will pronounce there is not one grain of honour or integrity remaining in England. The reformation I am making, in both the civil and military branches, will render the acquisition of fortunes not so sudden or certain as formerly. This, added to the shortness of my stay in India, induces me to think Captain Semphil had better stay in England, where we may serve him by our interest at home. Remember me in the most affectionate manner to my mother. She has acted a great part in life. The uniformity of her conduct with regard to her children must, at the same time it affords her the most pleasing reflections, influence them to entertain the highest respect and veneration for so deserving a parent. I will most certainly write to her, and to my brothers and sisters, who have my most affectionate wishes."

On September 29, 1765, he wrote to his wife as follows:

"Business crowds upon me in such Manner that I cannot write much more, the *Fox* Capt. Hume has brought us the agreable News of Mr Sulivan's total defeat, I feel no other Satisfaction on that Account than for the Company had that Man been strong enough to have continued the Opposition he would have destroyed one of the grandest Prospects that ever fell to the lot of a trading Company. I have not yet heard either from You Mr Walsh or any of my Friends but Mr Wilbraham from whom I have the Satisfaction of hearing that You have receiv'd my Rio Janeiro Letters.

"Captain Griffin the Commander of this I believe You know he is a very worthy honest Man & much attach'd to our Interest, he will deliver You a Box bound round with Tape & my Seal affix'd directed to the Right Honble Lady Clive in Berkeley Square, this Box contains Diamonds Rubies & Pearls amounting to 42,000 Arcot Rupees as will appear by the enclosed Invoice, all these things I bought excepting the lose Diamonds being 22 in Number & two of the smalest Rings, Rubies being so scarce & so much admired when perfect is the Reason I purchas'd them tho at a very great Price, I am persuaded there are few such in England.

"I likewise send You by Capt. Griffin eleven Bundles of Muslins & Shawls likewise 2 Boxes of Ottar, You, Walsh & the Captain must

contrive about getting them on shore. You will spare Mr Walsh one of the Bottles of Ottar of Roses.

"There comes upon this Ship likewise a very small Horse and a much smaller Mare the Horse is very pretty & dances or Capers incomparably whether he will be worth the Prince of Wales acceptance I know not, however we may have a Lilliputian Breed, You being of that Breed Yourself.

"Young Kelsall has been very unfortunate untill lately but by Mr Pauls & Mr Pybus' Assistance he has been so far able to retrieve his Affairs as to get out of Debt but this is not the Way to get home, I have empower'd Mr Pybus who is now in affluent Circumstances to make over to Mr Kelsall the Ballance of his Account with me amounting to about 4000 L, which he shall have at Interest at 4 per Cent, but there is still something in Reserve for the Young Man of much greater Consequence, I have recommended him & three other Gentlemen with Madrass Establishment to the Court of Directors in such Terms, that I am sure they will be appointed if Councel hear by the Return of this Ship nay such is the Licentiousness & Inability of the Junior Servants at this Place, that I believe we shall send for them ourselves in a Month or two, this good News You may communicate to the Old Folks but it must go no farther." [1]

The *Admiral Stevens*, which conveyed his family letters and a long dispatch to the Court drafted by him, also carried the following letter to Orme:

"I have wrote so many letters, and gone through such a scene of public business, that I cannot attempt describing to you any part of our proceedings in this part of the world. Scrafton, Walsh, and

[1] 29th Sept. 1765.

INVOICE OF DIAMONDS RUBIES & PEARLS CONSIGNED TO THE RIGHT HONBLE LADY CLIVE BERKELEY SQUARE LONDON.

No. 1.	√ A large transparent Diamond Ring weighing 20 Rutties	cost . . . ARs	11,000
No. 2.	√ A Diamond Ring valued	at	1600
No. 3.	√ A Diamond Do . . . valued . .	at	1000
No. 4.	√ Twenty-two loose Diamond Drops valued	at . .	10,000
No. 5.	√ A Ruby Ring set with Diamonds	cost .	8000
No. 6.	√ One . . . Do Do	cost .	7000
No. 7.	√ One Ruby Ring Country set &	valued at	1000
	√ 103 Pearls put in loose valued at		2600
		ARs	42,200

They were all received in 1766.
Invoice from Lord Clive.
Dated 29th Sept.r 1765.
Recd 20th April 1766.

Colonel Smith will furnish you with abundant matter of surprize and astonishment. Let it suffice to say, that fortune seems determined to accompany me to the last; every object, every sanguine wish, is upon the point of being completely fulfilled, and I am arrived at the pinnacle of all I covet, by affirming the Company shall, in spite of all envy, malice, faction, and resentment, acknowledge they are become the most opulent company in the world, by the battle of Plassey; and Sir Hannibal Hotpot shall acknowledge the same.

"I am preparing plans in abundance for you. You shall have very exact charts of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and of the Mogul empire as far as Delhi at least. A map of the Ganges likewise, and all the other rivers of consequence."

Clive on his return to Bengal found that many junior civilians held weighty offices, owing to their seniors having returned to England after having rapidly acquired fortunes. In a dispatch to the Court, dated March 24, 1766, he wrote as follows:

"The business of the Secretary's department was committed to a youth of three years standing in your service; the employment of Accomptant is now discharged by a Writer still lower in the list of your servants; the important trusts of Military Storekeeper, Naval Storekeeper, and Storekeeper of the Works, were bestowed, when last vacant, upon Writers; and a Writer held the post of Paymaster to the Army, at a period when near 20 lacks of rupees had been deposited for months together in his hands."

The administration of these offices was really transacted by Native brokers and Native clerks.

"Banians became principals in the several departments; the affairs of the Company flowed through a new and unnatural channel; and your most secret concerns were publicly known in the Bazar."

The Committee, in a previous dispatch, dated September 30, 1765, had stated:

"It is therefore with the utmost regret we think it incumbent on us to declare, that in the whole list of your junior merchants there are not more than three or four gentlemen whom we could possibly recommend to higher stations at present."

Three vacancies had occurred in Council, but Clive avoided filling them. He objected strongly to a blind adherence to the rule of seniority. In the same dispatch Clive wrote as follows:

"To keep up to the letter of your Instructions, we must fill the vacancies in Council from the next in succession, without regard to the qualifications they possess for the discharge of so important a trust, and thus commit into the hands of rash unexperienced young men the conduct of a system of government which demands the discretion, judgment, and steadiness of more advanced years and longer services. Circumstances are now widely different from what they were a few years since, when you confined your whole attention to commerce, and were happy in being able to complete your investments without insult or exaction from the Country Government. You are now become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom; your success is beheld with jealousy by the other European nations in India, and your interests are so extended, so complicated, and so connected with those of the several surrounding powers, as to form a nice and difficult system of politics."

Clive proceeded to warn his masters that it was their indispensable duty to admit no claim but that of merit.

"So much rests with the Board," he wrote, "that on your judicious impartial selection of the members it depends, whether you hold a foot of land, and enjoy a privilege in Bengal; or whether you continue in possession of the most ample revenues and established extensive influence ever established by any European mercantile body. We therefore most earnestly exhort you, that no consideration of favour or prejudice be suffered to bias you in the important business of composing your Council; and that no other distinction be admitted, except what is due to ability, to integrity, and to faithful essential services."

The neglect of this advice in the selection of the Council of the Governor-General, which was created to replace the Board, had led to many a blunder and some grave disasters. The suspension of Mr. Leycester, owing to his having broken his oath by publishing an expression hastily dropped at the Board, and the resignation of Mr. Gray, reduced the Board to a number insufficient to conduct the necessary business of government. Clive therefore carried out his intention of applying to Madras for the services of four civil servants belonging to that Presidency, and appointing them to the vacant seats in the Bengal Council. The factious spirit which had blazed out so violently in the Council had reached the junior ranks of the public service, and Clive was fully persuaded that superseding them by the officials of another Presidency would

operate more effectually in checking discontent and insubordination " than if we had recourse to the more irksome and mortifying indignity of superseding them from this establishment." The appointment of four officials from Madras was a far more mortifying indignity, and was bound to increase the animosity of the Bengal Civil Service. It is possible to sympathise with their feelings whilst condemning the course they pursued. Clive, in a dispatch to the Court, dated January 31, 1766, described in fierce terms what took place when the Bengal civilians heard that an application had been made to Madras for men to supersede them :

" The young gentlemen of the settlement had set themselves up for judges of the propriety of our conduct, and the degree of their own merit : each would think himself qualified to transact your weighty affairs in Council, at an age when the laws of his country adjudge him unfit to manage his own concerns to the extent of forty shillings. They have not only set their hands to the memorial of complaint, but entered into associations unbecoming at their years, and destructive of that subordination without which no government can stand—All visits to the President are forbidden—All invitations from him and the members of the Select Committee are to be slighted—The gentlemen called down by our authority from Madras are to be treated with neglect and contempt—Every man who deviates from this confederacy is to be stigmatized and avoided—In a word, the members are totally to separate themselves from the head, decorum and union are to be set at defiance, and it becomes a fair struggle whether we or the young gentlemen shall in future guide the helm of government. Look at their names, examine their standing, inquire into their services, and reflect upon the age of four-fifths of the subscribers to this bill of grievances, who now support the association, and you will be equally surprised with us at the presumptuous intemperance of youth, and convinced that a stop of three or four years in the course of promotion is indispensibly necessary, if you would have your Council composed of men of experience and discretion."

Clive, in a letter to his wife dated the same day as the dispatch, alludes to the ordeal through which he was passing, an ordeal which would have broken down a less courageous nature. After acknowledging the receipt of numerous letters from " my dearest wife," he says :

I cannot write You so long a letter as my last by the *Admiral Stevens*, the public Business is become a Burthen to me & if any

thing endangers my Constitution it will be my close Application to the Desk, I am no longer walking about the Room talking Politics or dictating Persian Letters to Nabob's Rajah &c. I am no longer making Preparation for Campaigns & Fighting my whole time is taken up in introducing Oeconomy & Subordination among the Civil Servants in reforming most notorious abuses, & sometimes when I am dar'd & compelled to it, in detecting Frauds & bringing to Shame Individuals in short I will pronounce Calcutta to be one of the most wicked Places in the Universe, Corruption Licentiousness & a want of Principle seem to have possess'd the Minds of all the Civil Servants, by frequent bad Examples they are grown callous, Rapacious & Luxurious beyond Conception, & the Incapacity & Iniquity of some & the Youth of others here obliged us to call from Madrass 4 Gentlemen to our Assistance Viz. Messrs Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall and Floya these Gentlemen are expected every day, with their Assistance I expect to bring this Settlement into some Order altho the Gentlemen here all mutiny'd upon their being sent for, however they shall be brought to reason & rul'd with a Rod of Iron untill I see a Reformation in their Principle & Manners . . . In short I have undertaken a most disagreable & odious Task which my Honor obliges me to go through with I am become the Slave of the Company & the Detestation of Individuals, & my Constitution cannot bear it long if I am not reliev'd by the Madrass Gentlemen . . . I can give You a very agreable Account of the Gentlemen belonging to my Family Viz of Messrs Maskelyne, Strachey & Ingham who are all very well, but a very melancholy one of my Attendants. Hern I inform'd You in my last died of a Fever, since which poor William who was always sick died at Cossimbazar where he went for the Recovery of his Health & unfortunate Dick was killed by his Horse falling upon him, he was taken up senseless the 24th Decr at Night & died the next Morning, Phillpot is the only one of my surviving Servants, he indeed is hearty & well & bids fair to accompany Us to England because he is cautious & discreet—the Loss of my Groom hath affected me much for he was without Exception one of the best Servants I ever know, he preserved his Integrity Sobriety & Good Nature in the most abandon'd of Settlements to the last & died universaly esteem'd & regretted by the whole Town to whom he was ever performing some Office of Good Nature or other.

General Carnac is married to a very agreable Woman altho I could have wish'd he had suspended all thoughts of Matrimony untill his Arrival in England, She is Sister to that Mrs Amyatt whom You have heard was married to Mr Amyatt who was killed at Muxadevad, & who out of Gratitude Married his Cousin Mr James Amyatt, She is one of the best of Women the most taking & agreable in her Manners of any Lady in this Place, She & her Husband take their Passage upon the *Kent* & will deliver You this Letter. By these Good People I sent abundance of Curiosities Viz a Hookoo, a Gold Bird, a Deer no bigger than a Cat &c. &c. with a Chest full of Shawls, Pictures Swords

& many other Curiosities. The Chest is directed to the Right Honble Lady Clive, there are also one Pipe of Maderia & 15 Ton of Brasil Wood for Furniture for our Houses in Berkeley Square and in the Country, Mr Walsh and others must be consulted about getting all these things on shore. I am providing abundance of fine things for You indeed the finest Muslins Dimmitys Diappers Long Cloth &c. are making for the use of our Family . . . . . The Account You give of my Son & Daughters affords me much Pleasure & by Your strict Attention to their Education & Morals, You will render our Family much more essential Service, than by accompanying your Husband to a part of the World where every Hour of Life is dedicated to the Service of the public & who has scarce time to think of his dearest & nearest Connections. I have wrote my Son a Letter & enclose it under a flying Seal. May our Meeting be soon, & untill that time may Health & Serenity of Mind accompany you wherever You go. So wishes

Yr Affectt

CLIVE [1]

The following is the letter to his son:

CALCUTTA

MY DEAR AND ONLY SON,—I have receiv'd your Letter, the Style of which is pure and the Grammar correct, if it be of your own inditing, You have laid the Foundation of that Knowledge which alone can make You the Gentleman, and distinguish You from the Herd of your Fellow-Creatures.

Attend diligently to your Studies and to the advice of your Tutor but above all follow the Instructions of your Mother, let her excellent Example be your Guide, and You will render Yourself truly worthy of that great Fortune, which Providence seems to have design'd for You. I am

My dear Son

Yr Father and your Friend

CLIVE.[2]

During the time Clive was fighting against corruption and perfidy in the civil branches of the service, he was also engaged in reforming the abuses in the military establishment of the province. In the account of his stewardship, which he sent to the Court on September 30, 1765, he wrote:

"The military department also has caught the infection, and riches, the bane of discipline, were daily promoting the ruin of our army."

[1] Powis MSS.

[2] From Lord Clive to his son, The Honourable Edward Clive, at Eaton, dated January 31, 1766.

No man had a stronger instinct than Clive for order, justice, and discipline. But he did not expect men to rise entirely above the habits of the time. He added:

"I would not be thought by these observations to exclude riches from the military: Honour alone is scarcely a sufficient reward for the toilsome service of the field. But the acquisition of wealth ought to be so gradual, as to admit not a prospect of completing it, till succession by merit to the rank of a field officer should have laid a good foundation for the claim."

It was for this reason that Clive did not allow anyone below the rank of a field officer to share in the profit of the salt trade. When he gave the field officers a proportion of the profits, he had determined to carry out at once the positive orders of the Court regarding the abolition of the allowance, granted to soldiers when on field duty. From very early days officers serving the Company had, while on active service, received, in addition to their ordinary pay and allowance, a special allowance known as batta. Batta had contributed to the early fortune of Clive. When the troops actually took the field the allowance was known as "full batta," but when they were posted in a station outside a Presidency but not actually in the field, they drew only half that amount, which was called "half-batta." After Plassey, Meer Jaffier granted to the officers an additional sum equal to full batta, and this was called "double batta." At the time when it was granted Clive warned the officers that the Company might not continue an indulgence due to the generosity of the Nawab. The Court of Directors, however, did not object so long as they had not to bear the financial burden. But when the three districts were assigned for the payment of the troops, and the whole military expenditure was borne by the Company, the Court sent orders to discontinue the payment of double batta. In 1761 a memorial couched in most temperate language and signed by thirty-nine officers was submitted to the Council, praying that double batta might not be withdrawn because "it was only with the assistance of what little an officer could save out of his Full Batta in the field that he

was enabled to subsist decently the rest of the year in garrison and fit himself out for the next campaign." The memorial was forwarded to the Court, and the Council, in their dispatch, warmly supported the case of the officers. The Directors replied on March 9, 1763, that

"though they were desirous to answer their original engagement with the military gentlemen, and to grant them encouragement suitable to their merit, yet it could not be justly expected that they should be enabled to raise such fortunes as might lead them to quit the service in a short space of time, an inconvenience which of late had frequently happened." [1]

When the orders reached Bengal the Council were on the eve of war with Meer Cossim, and they wisely did not put them into force. In a letter dated June 1, 1764, the Court again ordered that double batta should be withdrawn on the receipt of the letter, and the whole army placed on single batta. The letter reached Calcutta in January, 1765, soon after the battle of Buxar, and the Council determined that, "as the army was engaged on actual service of so much consequence," the abolition of the double batta should be deferred at present until the arrival of Lord Clive. [2]

Clive, having secured peace by his treaty with the Nawab of Oudh, and having reorganised the military force, determined to enforce the orders of the Court regarding the double batta. In September, 1765, he notified that on January 1, 1766, the privilege would cease. In the dispatch dated January 31 the Secret Committee state:

"We have ordained, that on the first day of the present month, the customary Batta shall be struck off from the troops in general, excepting the brigade stationed in Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, who, on account of the high price of provision, and the difficulty of procuring stores, will be allowed double Batta in the field, and half double Batta in cantonments and in garrison, until they are recalled to the provinces.

"For the same reasons half Batta is continued to the troops quartered at Patna and Mongheer; but the rest of the army, we mean the detachments at subordinates and other places, that are not engaged in actual service, are reduced precisely on a footing with

[1] Broome, pp. 554–5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

the Company's forces on the coast; even those stationed at Mongheer and Patna receive the same exact Batta as your troops at Trichinopoly."

Means had been devised for the officers to live cheaper, and for supplying them with stores at a more moderate price; provision had been made for increasing the emoluments of the field officers by the profits derived from the salt trade; but Clive himself admitted that the abolition of batta entailed a serious hardship on the junior officers. In a letter to the Court, dated March 24, 1766, the Committee wrote:

"You are already advised, that your orders, respecting the reduction of Batta allowed to the army, took place on the first day of the present year. This measure hath produced some murmurings and complaints among the subalterns, and even a memorial to the Council from the officers of the first brigade. Conscious, however, of the necessity of reducing your military expences, we are determined to see the orders strictly obeyed. At the same time, we must confess, that until the charges incurred on account of servants, horses, and the necessary equipage of the field in this climate are diminished, by some public regulations, the allowance of a subaltern will scarcely maintain him in the station of a gentleman."

Four days before the letter to the Court, Clive wrote thus to his wife from "Dum Dumma" (Dum Dum), five miles from Calcutta, where he had a country house:

I have very little to say in Addition to my last Letter by M^rs^ Amyatt, who by this time is considerably advanced on her Voyage to England & will I hope arrive safe with the Letter and things entrusted to her Charge.

Altho I have been hitherto silent with regard to Cap^t^ Miles out of Regard to the Noble & worthy Lord & Relation who recommended him to Us, I must now say he has but one Virtue under the Sun to recommend him which is good Nature, he is very silly & ignorant, very obstinate, very mean and very avaritious, our Provisions of all kinds were exceeding bad & those manag'd in so Slovenly & careless a Manner, that if Hern had not been with us to supravise we must have been all starved. M^rs^ Amyatt who is one of the best natur'd & most deserving Woman alive undertook to carry for your Ladyship some curious Birds & Antelopes, but that Brute of a Captain altho M^rs^ Amyatt inform'd him whom they belong'd to & entreated him in the strongest Terms to receive them on Board absolutely refus'd her & sent them all back again the Hooko excepted. I mention these particulars that neither You or any of my Friends may shew the

least countenance to such a fellow whom I paid 1200 Guineas for my Passage & found all the Liquors for he had none—I wish M^r^ Rous and some of the principal Directors were inform'd of his Behavior that he may be treated in the Manner he deserves. Remember to send for a large Quantity of Brasil Timber & Plank which is on Board the *Kent*.

Cap^t^ Payne has been so obliging as to make an Offer of carrying home whatever I shall send on Board the *Ponsborne*. I shall therefore put under his Care two very beautiful & curious Birds, 2 pair of Antelopes & 4 Small Bundles of Mulmulls each Bundle containing 2 Pieces, the one thick the other thin these same Mulmulls are the finest & most curious that ever were sent from this Country, if they come safe let M^r^ Walsh have one of the Bundles to bestow upon some Lady of Quality or Fashion.

I am just upon the Point of going up the Country to put the finishing Hand to the arduous Task I have undertaken, the Country is in perfect Tranquility civil and political Negotiation with the Princes of the Country is all that remains to be done, Mess^rs^ Maskelyne Strachey Ingham & General Carnac accompany Me—we shall probably remain five or 6 Months, & then return to receive an Answer to our Dispatches by the *Admiral Stevens* & to prepare for our Journey or Voyage to England, I have made Enquiry of Numbers who have travell'd overland, who all agree that the Journey is perfectly safe very entertaining & very agreable & not attended with the least Fatigue if we leave Bassarah by the End of January or beginning of February, which I shall endeavor to accomplish by leaving Bengal early in the Month of December.

My Friends will be much mistaken if they expect I shall enlarge my Fortune by this my last Voyage to India, I would not have given up my Family Relations & Connections for all the Riches upon the Face of the Earth, nothing but the public good & my own Honor (which was at Stake) could have enduced me to undertake so odious & disagreable a Task as restoring Tranquility to these Provinces & reforming the Morals & Principles of this abandon'd Settlement, however, altho I shall not enlarge my own Fortune which indeed wants no Addition, I have it in my Power of serving others by giving up to them the public & allowed Advantages of my Government, which before my Departure will amount to about 32,000^L^—this I shall divide in the following Manner, 15,000 to Mun, 15000 to Strachey, 10,000 to D^r^ Ingham & 2,000 to M^r^ Philpott. Let this Matter be known but to few—

I hope You and the Children are all well that I may find You & them in perfect Health is the sincere and Ardent Wish of

Your Affec^t^

CLIVE.[1]

Clive did not confine his generosity to a few friends whose

[1] Powis MSS.

love and admiration supported him in his arduous and disagreeable task. His duty imposed on him the necessity of abolishing pecuniary privileges enjoyed by the officers, for whom, as a soldier, he had the deepest sympathy, and he determined to palliate the blow by an act which has caused many a grateful widow and orphan to feel an affection for his memory. Clive told the Committee of the House that on the day, or the day after, of the arrival of the Nawab at Calcutta they rode out together in an open chaise, "and Nobekissen,[1] who spoke English, and was the interpreter, rode behind."

"The Nabob took that opportunity to inform me that his father had left me 5 lack of rupees, which he said were in Jewels, Gold, Mohurs, and Silver, and that the whole was in the hands of his mother the Begum, who would pay it whenever I pleased. I mentioned this circumstance to several gentlemen very soon after, particularly to Mr. Strachey and Mr. Verelst. At that time I resolved in my own mind not to accept the legacy; but afterwards, when, in obedience to the company's commands, we had ordered the double batta of the army to be struck off, it occurred to me, that that legacy might be converted into a military fund for the benefit of invalid officers and soldiers, and widows." [2]

Towards the end of March, Clive, accompanied by Carnac, Strachey, and Ingham, left Calcutta for Murshidabad, in order to regulate, with Mr. Sykes, the Resident, the amount of revenue to be collected from the territory under the administration of Murshidabad and Patna during the ensuing year. He also expected to receive at the Nawab's capital the balance of the fifty lacs of rupees which the Vizier of Oudh had bound himself by treaty to pay. His most important object, however, was to negotiate with the princes of the country an alliance for mutual defence against the Mahrattas, whose advance threatened to be a most serious danger. Clive, on his arrival at Murshidabad, demanded from the Nawab payment of the legacy. On April 8 he wrote thus to the Gentlemen of Council at Fort William:

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to inform you, that upon a supposition, that the receipt of a legacy was not intended to be pro-

[1] Nobekissen—Nobkishn Munshi, a servant of the Company.
[2] Third Report Select Committee, p. 7.

hibited by the new covenants, I have received from the Begum, wife of the late Nabob, Meer Jaffier, an obligation for the sum of five lacks of rupees, which was bequeathed to me by his Excellency a few hours before his death, in the presence of many witnesses, whose attestation shall, as soon as possible, be laid before the board. When this obligation is discharged, I shall immediately pay the amount into the Company's Treasury at Calcutta. The interest arising therefrom I propose shall be annually distributed in such Proportions as I establish, among a certain number of officers, non-commission officers, and private men, who are disqualified from further service, by wounds, length of service, or diseases contracted in the service of the Company, and whose fortunes may be too scanty to afford the former a genteel, the latter a comfortable subsistence in their native country. I intend further, that the widows of all such officers and soldiers as shall have been entitled to this bounty, or whose husbands shall have lost their lives in the service, shall receive a certain proportion of the same during their widowhoods. The governor and council of Fort William will be perpetual trustees for the appropriation of this fund in India, and the court of directors in England. On my return to the presidency, or sooner, if business will permit, I shall have the honour to lay before you such regulations as I may think best adapted to the fulfilling my purposes above-mentioned ; and on my arrival in England the same shall be confirmed, with a proper instrument or deed of gift of the principal and interest of the said five lacks of rupees for ever, agreeable to the due forms of law, unless the Company should think proper to claim, and be able to prove, a right to the same under the new covenants." [1]

On September 14 the Council replied as follows :

"My Lord,—We have received your favour of the 8th instant, expressing your intention of appropriating the legacy of five lacks of rupees, bequeathed to your Lordship by the late Nabob, Meer Jaffier, as a fund for the relief of the officers and private men, who are become invalids in the honourable Company's service, and the widows of such as may have lost their lives in it. We are unanimously of opinion, that the receipt of this legacy is no way prohibited by the new covenants, and cannot help expressing the lively sense we have of this generous and well-placed donation to mitigate distress, which has so long looked for relief.— So noble an example of beneficence cannot fail to ensure the applause and approbation of every one ; and we shall chearfully accept the honour intended us by your Lordship, in appointing us trustees for the appropriation of this fund in India." [2]

On April 19 the Select Committee forwarded to Clive a remonstrance from the Third Brigade, commanded by Sir

[1] Commons Third Report, Appendix No. 2. [2] *Ibid.*

Robert Barker, against the abolition of batta. It was signed by nine captains, twelve lieutenants, and twenty ensigns. Clive, on April 22, directed that the remonstrance should be sent to Sir Robert Barker, and that the officers should be informed that the Council could not take notice of any petition from officers unless it came through the regular channel. The 29th was the annual Punia, or the day on which the Zemindars assembled and the Government settled with each of them their payment for the ensuing year.[1] On September 30 Clive, Carnac, and Sykes wrote thus to the Governor and Council of Fort William:

"Yesterday we held the Purneah, agreeably to the custom of the country, and to those ideas which we entertain of the Company's honour and interest. His Excellency the Nabob sat in quality of Nazim, and the Right Honourable the president took his place, as collector of the revenues for his Majesty.

"We thought it by no means adviseable to deviate, upon slight occasions, from the established forms and customs of this anniversary, and therefore accepted, for ourselves, and for you, the usual present of a dress and elephant to each, which shall be forwarded by the first opportunity. This expence hath formerly been charged to the government, it must therefore, now, of course, be brought to the Company's account; but as the amount is inconsiderable, it was scarce worth while to introduce any innovation that might tend to lessen their dignity in the eyes of the people." [2]

The day before the festival of the Punia, Clive received a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher, in command of the First Brigade, stationed at Monghyr, stating that he suspected not the officers of his brigade only, but of the whole army, intended to resign their commissions, though they proposed to serve throughout the month of May as volunteers. Sir Robert Fletcher also forwarded a letter from Sir Robert Barker, mentioning his discovery of the existence of a secret league, which he feared was not confined to his own brigade. Clive soon obtained evidence of an organised plot, which was first matured at Monghyr, and afterwards communicated to the Second and Third Brigades. The officers

[1] Verelst, Appendix, p. 136. Verelst spells the word "Poona."
[2] Committee Report, Appendix No. 2.

"bound themselves by an oath to secrecy, and to preserve, at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any one of their body who might be condemned by court-martial to death. In order to avoid the charge of mutiny, they determined to refuse the usual advance of pay for the month of June. Each officer bound himself separately by a bond of £500 not to accept his commission again if double batta were not restored." [1]

A fund was formed for the indemnification of those who might be cashiered, or the purchase of commissions for them in the King's service. To this fund several of the civilians and free merchants contributed. Clive grasped at once the gravity of the situation. The Mahrattas were threatening an invasion of Bengal. But not for a moment did Clive waver. He at once sent, by special messenger, a letter to the Council, informing them of the critical state of affairs. He desired that they should write at once to the Madras Government and ask them that all officers and cadets that could be spared should be held in readiness to embark for Bengal. The Madras Council should also be informed of the approach of the Mahrattas. On May 2 Clive heard from Sir Robert Barker that his officers were as determined to resign their commissions as the officers under the command of Sir Robert Fletcher. Clive wrote at once to the commanders of the three brigades, ordering them to put under arrest any officer whose conduct should come under the construction of mutiny until a general court-martial of field officers could be summoned. "The ringleaders," he observed, "of this affair must suffer the severest punishment that martial law can inflict, else there is an end of discipline in the army and of authority in the East India Company over all their servants." On May 4 Clive received a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher, enclosing a letter from forty officers of his brigade resigning their commissions. They wrote:

"As it is from principle we now resign the service, it would give us the greatest uneasiness should the affairs of our honourable masters suffer by so sudden a resignation. We have therefore resolved to serve them without pay of any kind, or being esteemed officers in their service, until the 15th of the present month of May, when an answer may be had from those gentlemen of the Council who, we

[1] Wilson, p. 174.

know, have the power of granting us redress, or supplying our places with other officers, provided you desire it.

"Our commissions accompany this, and we request you will keep them till the answer arrives." [1]

On May 5 Clive received a letter from Sir Robert Barker, informing him that his officers had stated their intention to resign on May 1, but they were willing to serve until the 15th of the month without pay. The officers of the two brigades had at first intended to resign on June 1, but when they found the conspiracy had been discovered they resigned a month earlier, in the hope of escaping the jurisdiction of martial law, and they offered to serve till May 15 because they expected by that time the Mahrattas would take the field and Clive would be compelled to yield to their demands. They did not gauge the courage and deep determination of the man. On May 8 Clive wrote to Sir Robert Barker:

"For my own part, I must see the soldiers' bayonets levelled at my throat, before I can be induced to give way; and then, not so much for the preservation of my own life, as the temporary salvation of the Company: temporary only it can be, for I shall think Bengal in the utmost danger, when we are reduced to the necessity of submitting the civil power to the mercy of men who have gone lengths that will frighten and astonish all England." [2]

The same day Clive left Murshidabad, and proceeded by forced marches to Monghyr. Whilst on the road he intercepted a letter from Colonel Smith, commanding the brigade at Allahabad, addressed to the Select Committee. It stated that the Mahrattas had moved down the Jumna, and taken up a position nearly opposite Korah. He wrote at once to General Smith:

"In case, therefore, the Morattoes should still appear to intend an invasion, or in case you apprehend a mutiny among the troops, but in no other case, you have my authority to make terms with the officers of your Brigade, upon their tendering their commissions." [3]

Clive had sent in advance Majors Champion and Polier, and Captains Smith and Pearson, in whom he had complete

[1] Broome, p. 577. [2] Malcolm, Vol. III., pp. 14–15.
[3] Broome, p. 585.

confidence, to reason with the resigned officers. They arrived at Monghyr on the 11th, but they could make little impression on the malcontents, who declared that they had gone too far to recede, and that they were bound in honour to the other brigades to adhere to their resolution. Sir Robert Fletcher had never informed them, they said, of Clive's generous gift, for, had they been told of it, self-interest as well as gratitude would have prevented them from resigning the service. Several of them lamented that they never had the opportunity of laying their whole case before Clive, and they expressed their determination to prevent or suppress a mutiny among the European troops. This was the gravest danger. The four officers took prompt steps to check it. Champion and Pearson proceeded to the camp of the sepoy battalions, while Polier and Captain F. Smith remained in the fort to watch events. The attitude of the Europeans became so threatening that Smith hastened to the sepoy camp, and marched two battalions to the fort. Entering it the next morning, the sepoys proceeded to their own parade, which commanded the principal gate. In the afternoon Smith received a message from Sir Robert Fletcher, saying that the European troops had mutinied. He immediately paraded the two battalions. He was the only European officer with them, but, placing the Native commandant at the head of the rear battalion, he marched, by a detour, towards a hillock on which was planted a saluting battery. Advancing in silence, the sepoys reached, unnoticed, its base, and then with a rush they captured it. Below the mound were seen the Europeans, under arms, on the point of leaving the fort. The sight of the sepoys with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets above them threw them into confusion. Smith told them that if they did not retire at once to their barracks he would fire on them.[1] Sir Robert Fletcher now joined them. He addressed the men and distributed money among them. "They now became quiet, and said that they had expected he would have placed himself at their head, otherwise they would not have thought of turning out; that

[1] Broome, p. 582.

if such was not the case, their officers might go where they pleased, but they would stay, and live or die with him alone." [1]

While Sir Robert was on the parade several of the officers arrived and offered their services, but, not wishing openly to implicate himself, he turned them all out of the fort.[2] Fletcher sent at once to Clive a report of the occurrence. He wrote, regarding the conduct of the officers:

> "Some have been very troublesome and particularly those whom I have all along suspected, and *whose confidence I used every art to gain in January last, when I heard that the whole were to form a plan of quitting the Brigade without giving any warning. I even went so far as to approve of some of their schemes, that they might do nothing without my knowledge.*" [3]

It was a very flimsy explanation.

On May 15 Clive arrived at Monghyr. He was told that the officers wished to lay their case before him, and that they accused Sir Robert Fletcher of being the instigator and contriver of the whole conspiracy. Clive ordered a parade of all the brigade to be held the next day. Early in the morning he entered the fort, and, after inspecting the Europeans, who "appeared in very good order, though very thinly officered," he addressed them. He knew the British soldier well. He first explained to them that the double batta was not a right but an occasional extraordinary allowance. In withholding it, the Governor and Council had only obeyed the positive commands of the Court of Directors. He stated, in emphatic terms, that the action of these officers in resigning their commissions on the same day was no less a crime than mutiny, for which the ringleaders would suffer the extreme penalty of the law, and the junior officers be deported to England. Then he made the moving appeal that he himself was a soldier, who had always been the friend of the army, and had proved his interest in the officers and men by having recently established a fund for the support of all officers and soldiers who should be invalided in the service, and also

[1] Broome, p. 589.
[2] Clive's Letter to Colonel Richard Smith. Monghyr, May 15, 1766.
[3] Broome, p. 589.

for the widows of those who died. He exhorted them to be sober, right-thinking men, submissive to discipline. He next addressed the sepoys and praised them for being true to their salt. He then distributed honorary rewards among the Native commandants and officers, and ordered double pay to be issued to the men for the months of May and June. "The whole brigade was much pleased with these marks of regard from the commander in chief; expressed their satisfaction and gratitude with decent acclamations; and when they were dismissed from the parade retired without tumult and disturbance to their quarters." [1]

The officers who had been expelled from the fort encamped a short distance from Monghyr. Clive sent peremptory orders to them to leave at once for Calcutta, and he sent a detachment of sepoys to enforce his commands. The malcontents, beaten and broken men, started in small parties for the capital. The next day Clive proceeded to Bankipore (Patna). On his arrival, he found that though the officers had resigned their commissions, only a few had insisted on immediate acceptance. These Sir Robert Barker, who acted with great firmness and promptness, sent immediately to Calcutta. When Clive appeared on the scene, the rest retracted their resignations, and bound themselves to serve for three years, and not to resign at any time without giving a year's notice. The brigade which caused Clive the gravest anxiety was the Second Brigade. A greater portion of it was stationed at Surajpur,[2] one hundred miles beyond Allahabad, in order to watch the movements of the Mahratta host. On May 6 Colonel Richard Smith wrote to Clive from "The lines of Serrajpore":

"With much surprize and concern I acquaint you that the major part of the officers of this detachment have wrote to me for leave

[1] Caraccioli, Vol. III., p. 192.

[2] Surajpur: "It has once been a place of considerable note, and is still one of the most flourishing towns in the province of Korah. It is pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Ganges, about one hundred and four miles N.W. and by N. of Allahabad, about one hundred and ten miles W.S.W. of Oude, and about fifty-seven miles E. and an half N. of Kalpee, which stands on the banks of the Jumna, which river empties itself into the Ganges at Allahabad.—*Ibid.*, p. 132.

to resign their commissions: some have demanded their discharge immediately, others at the expiration of the month . . . The officers of the garrison at Allahabad have also signed a request of the same nature."

Colonel Smith, in the general orders of the day, plainly expressed his opinion of their conduct:

"This is a behaviour so foreign to every thing that has the least connection with honour, that the colonel blushes to find his countrymen can so readily sacrifice their own reputation to any private views or considerations whatsoever: when these honourable motives have no longer any influence, the service of such officers is by no means desirable." [1]

The officers protested against his censure. He bluntly replied to their letter that "the first point of honour in all officers of the army should be fidelity to the state they serve," and he ordered those who resigned immediately to be sent to Calcutta. He wrote to the officers in garrison at Allahabad:

"I intreat you, gentlemen, for your own honour, for my honour, and for the honour of the regiment, to weigh well this matter; view it, I beseech you, divested of prejudice, and suffer not yourselves to be trifled with against your better judgment." [2]

He added:

"I conjure you not wantonly to abandon your fair prospects in this service; and as I have not yet transmitted your request to the committee, I cannot receive a juster satisfaction than a desire from you to suppress it." [3]

They sent the mutinous reply: "We plainly perceive by your not transmitting our letter to the council, that we are trifled with, and are unanimously resolved to set out for Calcutta the 20th instant." [4] Major Smith, who commanded at Allahabad, aware of the danger of his position, sent to Surajpur for a battalion of sepoys. They pushed down at once, and arrived at Allahabad, having performed a march of one hundred and four miles in fifty-four hours. Major Smith at once put every officer except four under arrest, and he informed them that "if they presumed to break their arrest, or attempted

[1] Caraccioli, Vol. III., p. 195. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 200. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 201. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

to raise any disturbance in the fort, the seapoys should have orders to put every one of them to death. This spirited behaviour produced immediate submission, and he soon released them all, except the gentlemen of the deputation, and four others, whom he thought proper to send prisoners to Patna."[1] Colonel Richard Smith, having secured tranquillity in the camp, and trusting to the fidelity of the sepoys, ordered the 2nd European Regiment, with its mutinous officers, to proceed to Calcutta.

The spirit of mutiny was effectually subdued. Letters came from the majority of the officers, apologetic and intercessory. They admitted they had been indiscreet, and they prayed to be restored to the service. Towards the chiefs and leaders of the conspiracy unbending severity was shown. They were tried by a court-martial at Patna, and sentenced to be cashiered, the severest sentence of military law not being passed in deference to the doubts of the Council whether, under the then state of the law, the punishment of death could be lawfully inflicted in the Indian Army for mutiny. Sir Robert Fletcher was tried by a court-martial, and the sentence was, "That having been guilty of mutiny, excited sedition; the Court adjudged him to be cashiered."[2] Most of the junior officers were pardoned and restored to the service. At the time of the mutiny Clive was the resolute, energetic, stern ruler, but he reserved his noblest nature for the moment of forgiveness.

During Clive's stay in Bengal a Congress was held at Chupra, at which Clive, Carnac, the Nawab Vizier, and the Emperor's Minister were present. "Here was laid," Clive wrote to the Court:

"the foundation of a treaty between the Company, the Vizier, and the Jaut and Rohilla chiefs, for their mutual defence and security against all attempts of the Maharattas to invade their several dominions. But his Lordship and General Carnac, from consideration of the little advantage the Company would deduce from such distant allies in case of an invasion, chose to leave this matter unfinished, and to entrust Sujah al Dowlah with the management of such treaties

[1] Caraccioli, Vol. III., p. 204. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

as he might think convenient for his own and the Company's welfare ; but he is not to conclude any thing, nor enter into any absolute agreement, without having previously acquainted the President with every proposal, and obtained his approbation." [1]

Some deputies from the Mahratta chiefs were also present at Chupra, and from them and the letters they brought it became evident that the Mahratta forces were assembled at the Emperor's requisition, and upon his positive assurance that an English army would join them to escort him to his capital. His great and natural desire was to regain the Imperial capital and mount the marble throne at the Imperial palace fortress overlooking the broad waters of the Jumna. Clive wrote to the Court : " His Majesty has indeed laboured hard by every artifice of persuasion, intrigue, and negotiation, to succeed in his favourite scheme, which we are convinced would terminate in accomplishing his own ruin, and destroying the peace of the whole empire."

On July 30, 1766, Clive, after many months' absence, returned to Calcutta. The first important subject which engaged his attention was the salt trade. He laid a Minute before the Council on September 3, in which he observed that

" from my observation when I was last up the Country and from the heavy complaints against Europeans of the monopoly of Trade in general, I find that the industrious Native is still deprived of that share to which he has an undoubted, and a more natural right, nor is it yet on that equitable footing which justice and humanity would, I am sure, incline this Committee to establish." [2]

He therefore proposed as a plan for next year :

1st.—That all salt provided by the Society of Trade should be sold at Calcutta, and at the other places where it is made, and nowhere else.

2ndly.—That the price of salt should not exceed two Rupees per Maund (50 lb.) or Rs. 200 per 100 Maunds.

3rdly.—That the salt should be sold to Natives only, who were to have the liberty of transporting it over Bengal, Behar

[1] To the Honourable the Court of Directors, Fort William, September 8, 1766. The letter is signed by Clive, J. Carnac, H. Verelst, but was written by Clive.

[2] Long's Records, p. 449.

and Orissa, " and to have the whole profits arising from the sale thereof, and that no Company's Servant, free Merchant, or European shall be concerned in that article directly or indirectly after the sale of it at the above places."

4thly.—That the Calcutta Native merchants should be limited to a certain proportion of purchase, but that no banyan or servant whatever belonging to any European should be included or have any concern therein.

5thly.—A heavy penalty was to be exacted if the salt was sold at any market " for one cowrie " above the market price.

The Committee accepted the proposals, and on September 8 a Committee of Trade was formed for carrying the plan into execution during the ensuing year. The same day Clive wrote thus to his wife:

CALCUTTA.

I have receiv'd Abundance of Letters each of which added to my Satisfaction in hearing that my dearest Wife, Children, Relations and Friends were all well. in return for all this good News I am to inform You that I have almost laid aside all thoughts of my Journey Overland, not from any Conviction that it would be either tedious, dangerous or disagreable, but from the Situation of the Companys Affairs which will not permit me to leave India before the latter End of January when I have agreed to take my Passage on the *Britannia* Cap^{t} Rous without something very extraordinary indeed should happen to prevent me, and I flatter myself with the pleasing hopes of seeing Berkeley Square in July 1767—Mun, Strachey, & Doctor Ingham who are tolerably well tho always complaining, will accompany me, Mun with about 25,000, M^{r} Strachey 18,000 D^{r} Ingham 16,000 & M^{r} Philpott 3000, all my other followers you know are dead—

I inform'd You last Year that young M^{r} Kelsall was appointed one of the Council at this Presidency he enjoys his Health very well & if he only lives 3 Years he will infallibly return to England with 40 or 50,000 L he is at this Instant worth 8 or 10,000 L—

You will be surprised to learn that for these 10 Weeks past I have enjoy'd a better State of Health and am freer from Pain than from my first Attack at Madrass in the Year 1752. this is entirely owing to an Accident, being troubled with the Cholick for a few Hours I made use of a Shawl to wrap round my Waiste which secur'd my Stomach the injur'd & weaken'd Part from Colds & kept up such a constant Perspiration that I have been tolerably easy ever since and I make no doubt but I shall continue so—

I have already sent You Abundance of Muslins and other fine

things, I now send You more as p[r] enclosed Lists under Charge of Captain Smith of the *Lord Camden* who I am sure will take great Care of them, I have order'd Polly Bonors to make you about 60 Smicketts out of the finest long Cloth and Morees, I have likewise in my Possession one of the finest Pearl Necklaces that was ever seen not worth less than 2000 L this is the only valuable Present I have ever receiv'd which was given me by the Vizier Sujah Dowlah—all these fine things I shall bring home Myself with a great many Shawls &c.—

I am glad to find You like Walcot so well & that the House is made so habitable tho I am of Opinion it will prove too damp for me and that I shall be obliged to take up my Habitation in some of the drier Counties such as Berkshire or Hampshire, Bath I shall frequent much because I am sure of receiving great Benefit from the Waters, however You may tell Daddy King I still propose to make the Tour of Italy inform Him also that in Consequence of his Recommendation of M[r] Colvill I have appointed him Commisary to one of the Brigades which will be an Addition of 210 R[s] per Month to his Pay as Writer besides this he has an Opportunity of carrying his Wife up with him, the living at Calcutta which is become one of the most extravagant Places in the World must have ruin'd them both in a few Months.

Your Relation M[r] Carter is a most deserving Young Man I gave him a Commission immediately upon his Arrival and the General has since made him his Brigade Major the 2 Ducarrells have behav'd incomparably well, the Captain I have given a Batallion of Seapoys and appointed him to the Command of Illahabad one of the most advantagious things in Bengal, the Writer I have taken into my own Family—I was determin'd to make this a most agreable and wellcome Letter and I think it cannot be otherwise for it contains nothing but good News.

What can I say more than that I am

Y[r] Affectionate
CLIVE [1]

Clive recognised that the Governor of Bengal was no longer carrying on the business of a trading Company, but the business of a mighty State. He realised that all the functions of government had been palsied by its head being absorbed in his own private business. He considered that a governor should be placed in such a state of independence that his judgment would not be influenced by his personal interests. "The welfare of this great Company," he wrote in a Minute which he laid before the Select Committee on September 23,

[1] Powis MSS.

" should be the sole study of a Governor ; attached to that point alone his measures could never be thwarted by the malice of opposition, because they would all be proposed for the public good, and actions will always be justified, or condemned from the principles on which they are founded." [1] He therefore proposed that the Governor should receive a commission of $1\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the revenues, and, in return, should take a solemn and public oath and bind himself in a penalty of £150,000 to derive no emolument or advantage from his situation as Governor of Bengal beyond this commission, with the usual salary and perquisites of the office. Clive thus concluded the Minute :

" Although by these means a Governor will not be able to amass a fortune of a million or half a million in the space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handsome Independency and be in that very situation which a man of nice honour, and true zeal for the service would wish to possess. Thus situated, he may defy all opposition in Council ; he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose but what he means for the advantage of his employers ; he may defy the Law, because there can be no foundation for a Bill of Discovery ; and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because there can be nothing censurable in his conduct. In short if stability can be insured to such a Government as this where riches have been acquired in abundance in a small space of time by all ways and means, and by men with or without capacities, it must be effected by a Governor thus restricted, and I shall think it an honor, if my proposal be approved to set the first example." [2]

On October 1 the mayor and aldermen assembled at the Town Hall, and, in the presence of the Council, Clive, as President, took the oath. The Company's servants, and the rest of the inhabitants, were desired to attend on the occasion.

This was the last public act in Clive's Indian career, the act of a faithful public servant, anxious to secure administrative integrity. He had written to his wife in cheerful terms regarding his health, but his long marches in the steamy monsoon season of the year, and the perpetual mental strain and anxiety to which he had been subject, had affected his highly sensitive constitution. Towards the end of October there was a com-

[1] Long's Records, p. 451. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 451–2.

plete nervous breakdown. They took him away from Calcutta to a house in the country, where he remained in seclusion all November. On December 4 Carnac wrote to Lady Clive:

His Lordship has had his mind so continually upon the strain in studying the Company's interest, & his stomach being from the malignancy of the Climate overcharg'd with bile, from both these causes his nerves have been affected in the most violent manner: and it grieved me beyond measure to see a Person endued with such extraordinary firmness so oppressed in his spirits as to exceed any degree of hysterics I was ever witness to. I was the more shock'd as I had never seen him so before, but Mr Ingham informs me, he had a like attack, or rather worse, in England, & he, who from his long & close attendance upon His Lordship must be well acquainted with his constitution, has never judged him to be in any Danger. It was thought proper to move my Lord to Barasut, where We keep him clear of business, & from the change of air with the help of bark the bile is wholly thrown out of his blood. I did not go near him for some Days lest my presence might recall his attention upon public affairs, which we industriously avoid to prevent his being agitated; but having waited upon him yesterday at his desire, it is with the most inexpressible joy I can assure You from my own observation that his dejection of mind is considerably abated. It is yet uncertain whether he will have collected his spirits sufficiently to write himself, but I will detain this address till the last moment in order to give You the latest possible advices, & shall forward it with the private packet to Mr Secretary James who will transmit it to You. It will be some alleviation to your concern for His Lordship's indisposition to know that but for this circumstance it is uncertain whether He might not have been engaged to continue here another year, whereas now our departure is absolutely determined on, & the *Britannia* is getting ready with all expedition to convey us home.

Your Ladyship will be too much affected by the occasion of this address to admit my introducing with propriety any other subject, I shall therefore conclude with the assurance of my most fervent wishes of every happiness to You & Yours, & of my being with all possible respect & regard,

My dear Madam,
Your Ladyship's
Much obliged & most truly
devoted humble Servant
JOHN CARNAC [1]

On December 15 Carnac again wrote to Lady Clive:

"As my letter cannot be longer delayed I came here (Barasut) to day in order that I might close it with the most authentic informa-

[1] Powis MSS.

tion of His Lordship. I have the satisfaction to find him recover'd from every bodily complaint, & much mended of the malady of his mind, yet a languor still hangs about him, which it is possible may not be intirely removed till We have got him to sea." [1]

On December 8 two letters reached Calcutta, one addressed to the President and Committee, the other to the President. The Letter to the Committee, dated May 17, 1766, opens with an earnest request to Clive to remain another year in India.

"As Stability to Your Plans for a Peaceable Possession of Our Acquisitions and a thorough Reformation in Our Servants in general are objects of the greatest Importance, and in which the presence of Lord Clive is essentially necessary, We made it Our Unanimous and Earnest Request that His Lordship would continue another Season in Bengal, and which We here again repeat, in confidence and hopes of His Lordship's ready acquiescence to compleat what he has laid so good a foundation for, as you will observe by the accompanying Triplicate of a Letter We Addressed to His Lordship dated the 2nd Instant, which, as the occasion was so important, We sent *Overland*, for fear the *Mercury*, by which you will receive this, should not reach Bengal before the departure of His Lordship."

The Directors were most apologetic in their tone:

"You must not, therefore, look on the following Observations and Directions as carrying any disapprobation of your Conduct in general, but as reflections that occur to Us on the first view of affairs so totally New to Us; and We trust entirely to the continuance of your Zealous endeavours to bring this great work to perfection."

It gave them great pleasure to see that "the War with *Souja Dowla* ended so conformable to Our Wishes," "equally politick and prudent are the concessions in favour of the King," "it is with real pleasure We observe the good Effects of Regimenting Our Troops," but they emphatically condemned the regulations regarding the salt trade. They wrote:

"With respect to the Company, it is neither consistent with their Honour nor their Dignity to promote such an Exclusive Trade, as it is now more immediately Our Interest and Duty to Protect and Cherish the Inhabitants, and to give them no occasion to look on every Englishman as their national Enemy,—a Sentiment We think such a monopoly would necessarily suggest. We cannot, therefore, approve the plan you have sent us for trading in Salt, Beetle Nutt,

[1] Powis MSS.

and Tobacco, or admit of this Trade in any Shape whatever; and do hereby Confirm our former Orders for it's entire abolition. And We must here observe to you that We continue in the same Opinion which you find expressed in Our Letters of the 24th December and 19th February last, that every one concerned in this Trade, even before receipt of our Letter of the 1st June 1764, has been guilty of a breach of his Covenants."

They added:

"And here we must enjoin you to have particular regard and attention to the good of the Natives, whose Interest and welfare are now become our primary care; and we earnestly recommend it to you that you take the most effectual Methods to prevent these great Necessaries of Life from being Monopolized by the Rich and Great among themselves, and by that means the poor and Indigent becoming liable to those Grievances and Exactions which we mean to prevent our own People from being guilty of."

In their letter to Clive they again express in the warmest terms their approval of his administration, and they entreat him, in the closing paragraph of their letter, to continue in the government of Bengal for another year.

"We have the most perfect sense," they wrote, "of your Lordship's disinterestedness in every part of your conduct, and we shall not fail to represent this to the proprietors, and shall at the same time inform them of the many great advantages your Lordship has obtained for the Company; but we fear, my Lord, past experience will teach them as it does us, that the permanency of those advantages will depend much on your Lordship's continuing in India, till you have seen the regulations firmly established for the conducting these important affairs: Another year's experience and peaceable enjoyment of our acquisitions, might fix them on a basis that would give hopes they may be as lasting as they are great; and there is no doubt, my Lord, but the general voice of the proprietors, indeed we may say, of every man who wishes well to his country, will be to join in our request, that your Lordship will continue another year in India: We are very sensible of the sacrifice we ask your Lordship to make, in desiring your continuance another year in Bengal, after the great service you have rendered the Company, and the difficulties you have passed through in accomplishing them, under circumstances, in which your own example has been the principal means of restraining the general repaciousness and corruption, which had brought our affairs so near the brink of ruin: These services, my Lord, deserve more than verbal acknowledgments; and we have no doubt that the proprietors will concur with us in opinion, that some solid and

permanent retribution, adequate to your great merits, should crown your Lordship's labours and success." [1]

The state of Clive's health rendered it impossible for him to concede to the Directors' request. Four days after he received their letter, he wrote to them:

"It is now a month since I have been in so deplorable a state of health, as to be wholly unable to attend to business; and it is past a doubt, that I cannot survive the malignity of this climate another year. Thus, useless as I am become to the Company, and without the least prospect of recovery in Bengal, I cannot doubt you will concur with me in opinion, of the absolute necessity of returning to my native country." [2]

Moreover, he told them he had already accomplished most of the objects for which they wished him to remain.

"The spirit of opposition and extravagance had been subdued—a dangerous mutiny effectually quelled, and an example made of the ringleaders—stability had been given to the army by new articles of service—the conduct of the Council towards Shuja Dowla, in restoring him all his dominions, after he had been reduced by conquest to the very lowest ebb of fortune—the regular payment to the king of the tribute, which had never been paid to former Moguls, excepting in the plentitude of power and authority—the payment of the *chout* to the Mahrattas, and the influence which the invariable success of our arms had produced—all combined to place the interests and power of the Company on a firm and advantageous basis, and, at the same time, to convince the native states 'that our ambition extends not beyond maintenance of our present possessions, and that one of our first principles of government is justice. [3]

"Such being the true state of the case, to what purpose," he added, "should I continue longer in a climate, which would certainly prove fatal to me at the end of another year?" [4]

On January 16, 1767, Clive, with faltering steps, reached the President's chair, and asked the secretary to read a letter, in which he informed them that the judgment of his physician declared that he had "no prospect of recovering health or even of preserving life but by an immediate embarkation for my native country." After paying a handsome tribute of praise to the members of the Committee, who had aided him in the critical task of reform, he exercised the privilege given

[1] Commons Report, Appendix No. 74.
[2] Auber, p. 165.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–6.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

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NEWPORT, R. I.

him by the Court of continuing the existence of the Select Committee and nominating fresh members. He then proceeded to lay before them that system of politics which he considered ought to be preserved after he had resigned the important charge of the Company's affairs in Bengal.

"My Ideas will, I hope, be found consistent with my Actions; and You, who are so intimately acquainted with my Heart and Principles, will consider the Substance of this Address, not as an Instruction, but rather as a Refreshment to your Memory of the great outlines of Government which I drew for my own Guidance, and which the most mature Deliberation, as well as Success, emboldens me to recommend to your future Notice."

The first point which he offered to their consideration was the form of government.

"We are sensible that since the Acquisition of the Dewanny the Power formerly belonging to the Soubah of these Provinces is totally in Fact vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the Name and Shadow of Authority. This Name, however, this Shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate. Every Mark of Distinction and Respect must be shewn him, and He himself encouraged to shew his Resentment upon the least want of Respect from other Nations."

To employ the Company's servants as collectors would be declaring the Company to be the executive power. In exercising their power he warned them—a warning which has been too often neglected, as the Settlement Reports show—"that you ought not to be very desirous of increasing the Revenues especially where it can only be effected by oppressing the Landholders and Tenants." He warned them against delegating too much power to the army, and, fearing that the spirit of corruption and insubordination should revive, he dwelt upon the necessity not only of making orders and regulations, but having them promulgated and enforced. He observed:

"No Regulation can be carried into Execution, no order Obeyed, if you do not make rigorous Examples of the Disobedient. Upon this Point I rest the Welfare of the Company in Bengal. The Servants are now brought to a proper Sense of their Duty; if you slacken the Reins of Government, Affairs will soon revert to their former Channels;

Anarchy and Corruption will again prevail, and, elate with a new Victory, be too headstrong for any future Efforts of Government. Recall to your Memories the many Attempts that have been made in the civil and military Departments to overcome our authority and to set up a kind of Independency against the Court of Directors; Reflect also upon the resolute Measures we have pursued, and their wholesome effects. Disobedience to legal Power is the first step of Sedition, and palliative Remedies effect no Cure. Every tender compliance, every Condescension on your Parts, will only encourage more flagrant Attacks, which will daily encrease in strength, and be at last in vain resisted. Much of our Time has been employed in correcting Abuses. The important work has been prosecuted with Zeal, Diligence, and Disinterestedness, and we have had the Happiness to see our Labours crowned with Success. I leave the Country in Peace; I leave the military and civil Departments under Discipline and Subordination: it is incumbent upon you to keep them so. You have Power; You have Abilities; You have Integrity: let it not be said that you are deficient in Resolution. I repeat that you must not fail to exact the most implicit Obedience to your orders. Dismiss or suspend from the Service any Man who shall dare to dispute your authority. If you deviate from the Principles upon which we have hitherto acted, and upon which you are conscious you ought to proceed, or if you do not continue to make a proper Use of that Power with which you are invested, I shall hold myself acquitted, as I do now protest against the Consequences."

On January 24 the Select Committee wrote a letter answering the Court's Dispatch dated May 17, to which "Lord Clive's severe indisposition had obliged us to defer making any particular reply." The most important point discussed was the Court's peremptory orders regarding the salt trade. Clive considered his plan for the management of the salt as one of the most important works of his administration. It had stood the test of a year's working, and the defects which experience had revealed had been mended. The Court ordered the immediate abolition of the plan, but they deferred settling the crucial point—in what other way the inadequate salaries of their servants were to be increased. Clive knew it would be fatal to the interest of the Company to create a legitimate discontent among the civil servants and field officers by abolishing the expedient for increasing their inadequate incomes without first increasing their salaries. He had reason to expect that when the Court received their dispatch of September 3

they would reconsider the orders they had sent, and countermand them. On January 16 the Select Committee resolved that the Society of Trade should be abolished, and the inland trade totally relinquished, on September 1 following. In their letter to the Court (January 24, 1767) they remarked:

"Your orders are positive, and therefore our obedience shall be implicit. Accordingly you will observe in our proceedings, that the society for conducting this branch of traffick stands absolutely abolished on the first day of September next. The contracts for the present year being formed, and large advances made, it was impossible, without ruin to individuals, and confusion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the execution of your orders."

They informed their employers:

"Although our duty obliges us to pay the strictest obedience to your peremptory orders for abolishing a trade to which you express so strong an aversion, the same duty requires we should freely offer our sentiments upon a subject in which we think your immediate interest, the good of the service, and the public welfare, are deeply concerned."

They reminded them that the Court and the Proprietors had found it necessary to restrain their civil and military servants from receiving presents—"those advantages to which they had for so many years been accustomed." It was now proposed that the Company should make such an increase in investments, particularly in silk, "as will effectually deprive your servants of the usual benefits arising from private trade." A trade by sea in the manufactures of the country was "the only remaining channel for the exertion of industry, that likewise is choaked up by those shoals of free merchants annually imported, who being incumbered with no public business, nor confined to residence in Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India, to much greater advantage than your servants." The Select Committee proceeded to state:

"Taking all these circumstances into consideration; reflecting also upon the great increase of luxury of late years, in consequence of the sudden influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce the charges of living to the present means of supporting those charges, we adopted, in consequence of your permission, the plan of a regulated and restricted inland trade, as the best method

of rewarding faithful services, the surest means to excite zeal, and the fairest mode of carrying on a beneficial trade, without relinquishing all the advantages we have hitherto received, or subjecting the natives to those encroachments on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reason complained.

"Our letter by the *Camden*, and proceedings by the *Cruttenden*, will explain to you the regulations of the original plan of the society, which took place in the month of September last. Under these regulations the trade can scarce be considered in the odious light of a monopoly, since we are rather agents for manufacturing the salt, than the proprietors of the trade. It is sold in Calcutta to the natives only, and to the utter exclusion of all Europeans, at an easier rate than it ever could be procured when under the management of the government, before we were admitted to any participation. The natives transport it to all the different parts of the country, under such limitations that it must reach the hands of the consumer at a stated and moderate price. Hereby the people sensibly feel the justice and lenity of your government; and your servants, who have attained the highest stations, after a course of many years spent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their services, and enjoy the means of securing that independence to which they have so equitable a claim.

"We are now directed totally to renounce all share and benefit arising from this trade; it must be made over to the natives. The government must of course come into possession; nor can it be carried on otherwise than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to the ministers, officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear immense fortunes upon the oppression and ruin of the public, in despite of our utmost influence and endeavours. These are at present our suspicions; time alone can verify our conjectures. You, no doubt, will maturely consider how far it is probable men will continue honest against all the seductions of private interest; and whether it may not be necessary to strengthen the ties of that duty expected from your servants, by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy during the time of their servitude, and the independency they ought to secure before the close of their labours."

The Directors were, however, impervious to arguments, and Clive's scheme was discontinued by them after two years' trial. They had not the wisdom to frame any other plan regarding the increase of salaries, and all the evils that Clive predicted came to pass. Peculation and corruption among the Company's servants revived and continued until Lord Cornwallis, more than a quarter of a century later, introduced and established the principle, for which Clive so zealously contended, of allowing liberal salaries to the heads of responsible

offices, and of abolishing all perquisites and emoluments, whether undefined or defined.[1]

The dispatch which Clive wrote in defence of his scheme for rewarding faithful services was the last of the State papers which he drafted during his official career. These dispatches and minutes are exactly what the soldier administrator was sure to produce—strong and genuine, illuminated by the statesman's foresight and clear judgment. The accounts of his early campaigns and battles which he supplied to Orme for his history are vivid and clear. In Clive "the lance has not dulled the pen, nor the pen the lance." He was a champion of history, and the varieties of government and institutions were his favourite study. In his letters we have echoes of Pope, and quotations from the ancients, according to the fashion of the era. He took advantage of the facilities offered him as Governor in the encouragement of learned and scientific pursuits. Francis Gladwin, one of the first on the long roll of the illustrious Oriental scholars who served the Company, owed his admission into their service to Clive. On April 26, 1766, Strachey wrote to Gladwin: "His Lordship directs me to assure you, that if the recommendations he gave you, some time ago, should not procure you an appointment in the Company's service, he will further exert his interest in your behalf, nor desist till the point be attained."[2] It was Warren Hastings' knowledge of Persian that caused Clive to select him for political work, and it was under the close personal directorship of Clive that Hastings graduated in Indian politics. A knowledge of the language, habits, and customs of the people was the strongest title to his favour.

Like all men who have a natural aptitude for the military profession, the study of the physical features of a country had a great attraction for him. He took a special interest in the work of the young engineer officer James Rennell, who has won a place in the first rank of geographers. Rennell, when a midshipman, had, like Clive, distinguished himself

[1] "The Administrations of Great Britain, 1783–1830," by Sir G. C. Lewis, p. 165.

[2] Malcolm, Vol. III., p. 164.

at the siege of Pondicherry. Six years later he joined the Bengal Army. In 1763, when only twenty-one years of age, he was appointed Surveyor-General of Bengal. Clive encouraged him to carry out his gigantic labours in the field—the survey of Bengal—and rendered him every assistance. During the last year of his service Clive ordered a survey to be made of the outlets of the Ganges. Soundings were to be taken of the numerous creeks and channels, and resulting charts drawn, which he considered were likely to afford many new and advantageous directions for our navigation.

The whole of his administration bears witness to the vigour and versatility of his intellect. When working at his large measures of civil and military reforms, the rough drafts of his Minutes and letters show that he did not neglect the most subordinate details. Broken in health, he laboured with unflagging vigilance for the good of the great provinces over which he ruled to the end. He discovered that in the weighty letter which he had laid before his colleagues on January 16 he had omitted recommendations which he considered would be conducive to the future contentment and welfare of Bengal. He therefore, on January 24, addressed another letter to the Select Committee, in which he observed:

"The people of this country have little or no idea of a divided power; they imagine that all authority is vested in one man. The Governor of Bengal should always be looked upon by them in this light, so far as is consistent with the honour of the Committee and the Council. In every vacant season, therefore, I think it expedient that he take a tour up the country in the quality of a supervisor-general. Frauds and oppressions of every sort being by this means laid open to his view, will in a great measure be prevented, and the natives will preserve a just opinion of the importance and dignity of our President, upon whose character and conduct much of the prosperity of the Company's affairs in Bengal must ever depend." [1]

This was the final official utterance of Robert Clive—worthy of the statesman who was guided in all the steps he took by a sincere desire to protect and to promote the welfare of the peoples of the land. The Indians recognised the sincerity of his interest, and, as the time for leaving approached, the

[1] Arbuthnot, pp. 174–5.

Emperor, the Nawab Vizier, and the leading men in Bengal sent their expressions of admiration and esteem and their sorrow at his departure. On January 24, 1767, his colleagues presented him with the following farewell address:

To the Right Honble Lord Clive
President and Governor &c.ª &c.ª &c.ª

My Lord,—After the many Instances you have given of your great Prudence and Abilities as President of this Board, of your Attention to the Publick Good and to the Interests of Individuals, and of personal Regard and Friendship for the several Members who have had the Honor to assist in your Administration; we cannot fail, My Lord, to be deeply affected with the evident Necessity you are under of returning for the Benefit of your Health, to your Native Country.

We earnestly wish for your Lordship's speedy Recovery, and for the full Completion of those Honors, and of that Encrease of your Reputation which you may justly expect from the signal Advantages you have obtained for the Company and for the British Nation—

We beg leave, My Lord, to assure you, that we shall exert our utmost Abilities in support of those Measures which you have so wisely adopted and successfully pursued; to which, the Duty we owe to our Employers, and the Desire we have to preserve your Lordship's Esteem, will be principal Inducements—

The Rules your Lordship has been pleased to recommend to our Observance shall be strictly followed, as they immediately point out the only Path which can lead to our own Honor, to the Interests of our Constituents, and to the Happiness of this Country.

Already have we seen the unhappy Effects of Discord, and Dissentions at this Board; we have lately experienced the Blessings of Union and Unanimity. Your Lordship may therefore rest assured that we shall all with one Hand and Voice, join in preserving the Reputation of your Government, which we shall be ambitious to transmit undiminished to our Successors.

We remain with Sentiments of the greatest Respect and Esteem,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most Obedient
and most Humble Servants

Fort William
the 24th *January* 1767.

H. Verelst
L. A. Sykes
Claude Russell
W. Aldersey
Tho: Kelsall
Charles Floyer
A. W. Campbell [1]

[1] Powis MSS.

On January 29, 1767, Lord Clive, accompanied by General Carnac and members of his staff, embarked on board the *Britannia*. Thus closed his second administration, and of his qualities as a ruler in this, the greatest episode of his administrative life, it is impossible to speak too highly. He found corruption and indiscipline in every branch of the civil and military service, and with vigour and rare disinterestedness he suppressed the most glaring abuses. He introduced measures of reformation with caution and wisdom: he found a body of traders, and he converted them into administrators, and with ability he laid down the broad lines of administration. It must not affect our estimate of his greatness that we now see that his scheme of retaining a native administration was chimerical. He himself found it to be so, for he appointed two or three English supervisors. He suppressed a dangerous mutiny, he transformed the forces under his command, and he created and fashioned into a splendid fighting machine the Bengal Sepoy Army. A handful of British soldiers could not have extended British dominion from Bengal to the base of the northern hills if they had not been assisted by the bravery and devotion of the Bengal sepoy. Clive saw clearly that the time must come when the British would be the Sovereigns of India, but he realised that the lofty position could only be obtained by many hard-fought campaigns, and through many vicissitudes and perils. By a fine stroke of public policy he accepted, at the right moment, the Diwani, and so made the British one of the great Indian powers. He then, with precaution governed by forethought, consolidated that power, and laid the great foundations of an Empire. He saw that our possession of the coast and the Sircars was precarious, and with rare ability and caution he avoided arousing the jealousy of his foreign rivals, the French, the Dutch, and the Danes, on the seaboard. In order to protect Bengal and Behar from northern aggression he, by a generous stroke of public policy, created Oudh into a barrier state. During his brief second administration the boy hero of Arcot, the winner of Plassey, proved himself possessed of many of the finest qualities of a statesman.

CHAPTER VIII

1767–74: THE LAST DAYS

THE *Britannia* was a bad sailer, and the voyage to the Cape was protracted to the close of April. On the 24th Clive wrote to his wife:

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

I cannot avoid this Opportunity of informing my dearest Wife of our safe Arrival at this Place, we left our Pilot the 1 Feb.ʸ & arrived here the 21.ˢᵗ of the Month.

My Situation at Calcutta was so deplorable & I had so little hope of recovery that I could not persuade Myself to write News which must give so much Concern and Uneasiness my Disorder was of a very different Nature than what I had when in England and attended with much worse Consequences, D.ʳ Ingham informs me that I was out of my Senses for two days, that my under Jaw was fix't and that I took in one day 15 Grains of Ophium however this was only a paliative Remedy I owe my Recovery entirely to the Bark which has had a most surprising Effect upon my Original Nervous Disorder in so much that if it does not extirpate the Complaint I am convinced it will make Life much more tolerable than it has been ever since I was first taken ill at Madrass, I am still thin & weak but in every other respect much recover'd—

As the Ship which carried this Letter sail'd 15 days after the *Britannia* and arriv'd 8 days before us I conclude she may arrive in England 3 Weeks before Us, Major Winwood who has been greatly afflicted with the same Distemper which made so severe an Attack upon me hath promised to deliver this Letter with his own Hands, I imagine we shall see Old England in all July—

Mun and Strachey are both well but D.ʳ Ingham remains much afflicted with this same Villanous Disorder, indeed it is fortunate for me that I was not affected at first likewise for I could not in that case have been of the least Service to the Company or bore the least Fatigue it has so dreadful an Effect upon the Spirits—

I have not set Pen to Paper for these five Months past so that I doubt much whether this will be legible however it will convey to my dearest Wife the Prospect of soon seeing her.

Affec.ᵗᵉ

Remember me to my Children CLIVE.
My Father Mother Sisters &c. &c.[1]

[1] Powis MSS.

The following day Strachey wrote to Lady Clive:

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

MADAM,—Though Lord Clive has written Himself by this Conveyance, I cannot, consistently with Your Ladyship's Commands, omit troubling You with a Line to inform You of His Lordship's almost perfect Recovery. The Voyage Northward, and Continuation of the Bark, will undoubtedly complete what we all so much desire—Towards the end of July, we compute, You will have the Happiness of seeing Him. His Lordship wrote to You in January, after the Departure of the *Cruttenden*, but as the Letter was sent to Madras, and was intended to go under M^r^ Palk's Care, on the *Lord Camden*, which Ship had perhaps already sailed, I suspect You will not have received it. I mention this Circumstance, that Your Ladyship may have the Satisfaction of knowing that Lord Clive was so well recovered, even by the beginning of January, as to be able to write.

Major Winwood who sails tomorrow will himself deliver His Lordship's Letter to You from hence—I shall desire that mine may be trusted to the Post, which will probably travel faster.

We left Bengal the 1^st^ of Feb^y^ & arrived at this Place the 22^d^ Instant—About the 5^th^ of next Month, we shall proceed to S^t^ Helena, where we shall stay only 2 or 3 days. Our Passengers, besides Lord Clive & M^r^ Maskelyne & M^r^ Ingham, are General Carnac, his Lady & Son & Brother, & Col. Champion. All well—I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

Madam
Your Ladyship's
most obed^t^ & most humble
Servant

HEN^Y^ STRACHEY.[1]

Before the end of May St. Helena was reached. On the 21st Maskelyne wrote thus to his sister:

S^T^ HELENA.

Altho' I had the Pleasure of writing to my Dear Sister by honest Major Winwood who left the Cape the 25^th^ Ultimo, & we shall probably sail ourselves tomorrow Evening, yet as we are to stay a day at Ascension, & the *Plassey* is reckoned to go well, knowing it will give You Satisfaction, I venture this Letter to acquaint You we are all well, & that his Lordship has received all the Letters in General which were directed to be lodged here. I am very thankful to You for those You Favor'd me with by the *Hector* & *Lord Holland*, the former we missed meeting, but got all the loose Letters, Magazines &c^a^ out of the latter which we met off the Pitch of the Cape: We had rather a long Passage thither owing to a 10 days Calm after we got into Soundings, But were extremely fortunate in putting there not only

[1] Powis MSS.

for his Lordship's sake whose Health was declining from the Consumption of our fresh Provisions but as it also gave us an opportunity of laying in a noble Stock which this Island [Ascension] is too much impoverished to afford.

As we hope to have the Pleasure of seeing You within the Month of July, I will only add the Joint Respects & Good Wishes of the Doctor & M^r Strachey, begging You will believe me as ever,

Your truly Affectionate Brother

EDM^D MASKELYNE.

Be so kind to distribute my Love & Compliments where due.[1]

Lady Clive did not receive the letter till July 13. The following day her husband wrote to her:

ON BOARD THE *Britannia*
NEAR PORTSMOUTH

I have just time to inform my dearest Wife of my safe Arrival in the Channell & that I hope to land at Portsmouth in 5 or 6 Hours.

I propose dining with You to Morrow at Berkeley Square, and lest the good News should Surprise You too much have sent forward Mess^rs Strachey and Ingham who will arrive a few Hours before Mun & Self.

I am
Your Affectionate,
CLIVE.[2]

So Clive returned to the home where he had indeed been sorely missed. The warmth of his welcome was not confined to his family. Letters of congratulation on his safe return came from those who had known him in India, and from friends he had left in England. Among the latter were some of the most distinguished men in the country.

When Clive arrived in England the Duke of Grafton was First Lord of the Treasury, and Pitt, his old supporter, now Earl of Chatham, was Lord Privy Seal; but Pitt had been smitten with a gloomy and mysterious malady similar to the one from which Clive suffered, which affected his nerves and mind and rendered him incapable of transacting any business. Two months before Clive's departure from Bengal, Chatham had entrusted Alderman Beckford, a leading City magnate and a staunch supporter of the free merchant, to move in

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

the Commons for a Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the Company. The motion was carried in spite of the opposition of the Grenvilles and the Rockinghams. Burke, who was afterwards the chief opponent of the Company, voted against the motion.

On July 19 George Grenville wrote thus to Clive:

Wotton near Tame
Oxfordshire
July 19: 1767

My Dear Lord,—I heard but yesterday of your Safe Arrival in England, & take the earliest Opportunity to congratulate you upon it, & to express to you my Warmest Wishes that you may have recover'd your Health, which I heard with great Concern had been impair'd, by the Climate & what you have undergone in the East Indies. I wrote to your Lordship Six Months ago a long Letter which I imagine may possibly not have reach'd your Hands; & receiv'd lately a very Obliging & Friendly one from you dated y^e^ 8: of Sept^r^ last. You find this Country, my Dear Lord, in its annual state of Ferment & Uncertainty & it seems to be at present almost at its Crisis. For my own Part I have the same public Opinions as I have allways had. I think that the Sovereignty of Great Brittain over its Colonies which is now manifestly destroy'd must be asserted & establish'd, That for the effecting this in our present Situation an Administration ought to be form'd consisting of as much Ability Credit & Authority as is possible in order to make it permanent, without which no System of Measures can be uniformly pursued. I wish the Attainment of both these Objects for the public Good nor shall any Pretensions personal to myself stand in the Way of Them. This you will see has been & is my Resolution when you shall hear all that I know of the Negotiation now on Foot & what I have said upon it. I have desir'd M^r^ Whately who was one of the Secretaries of the Treasury when you left England & sets out for London from hence to Day to call upon your Lordship & inform you of the Particulars which are Authentick, & which probably in the present confus'd distracted state you may be glad to know. I hope my Conduct & Sentiments will meet with your Approbation, at least I can truely say that I have not consulted any Interest of my own in them & so far I wish to follow your Example. I should be extremely glad to wait upon you if I came to Town, but I suppose you will be soon going into the Country. if you would make this Place in your way thither you would do me great Honor & give me a very sensible Pleasure. I should then be able to talk to you more at large both on the Subject of what is now passing, & of all which has pass'd since I last saw you, & should have an Opportunity which I should be very happy in, of assuring you in Person of my constant wishes for

your Honor & Happiness & of the Affectionate Regard & Esteem with which, I am, My Dear Lord,

Your most Obedient
& most Faithful Humble Servant
GEORGE GRENVILLE.

I have a thousand Thanks
to give your Lordship for
your Kindness both to Mr. Crotty
& Mr. Strachey

Rt. Hon^ble Lord Clive.[1]

The following day Clive received a short note from the Duke of Grafton:

"The Duke of Grafton presents his Compliments to Lord Clive, in Consequence of Lord Hertfords Application, he has sent directions to the Commissioners of the Customs, to order the Presents, which His Lordship has brought home from India on Board the *Britannia*, for his Majesty, to be sent directly to Lord Clive's House, Attended by an Officer, who is to examine them there: It will be Necessary that his Lordship should send immediately to the Commissioners of the Customs, a Schedule of the Packages which contain the said Presents that the Commissioners may give proper directions for their being Landed, and sent to Berkley Square.

"GROSVENOR SQUARE
20th *July*, 1767."[2]

Thomas Whately, politician and man of letters, who at the request of Grenville had called on Clive and had a long discussion with him regarding public affairs, wrote thus to him soon after their meeting:

"Mr. Whately presents his Compliments to Lord Clive, & acquaints his Lordship that some Difference of opinion having arisen between the Duke of Bedford & Lord Rockingham, partly on the American Measures, & last Night more particularly on the Nomination of Mr. Conway to be Secretary of State, the Intercourse between them is now totally at an End.

"PARLIAMENT STREET
22d *July* 1767."[3]

On July 23 Grenville wrote again to Clive:

WOTTON
July 23: 1767

MY DEAR LORD,—Lord Powis brought to me yesterday your very obliging Letter of the 21st of this Month. I am extremely happy to

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

find by it that the Communication which I advised Mr Whately to make to you of what has pass'd, meets with your kind Approbation. I hope that the Audience which you are to have to Morrow of the King & Queen will add to the Satisfaction which you must receive in knowing the Sense which the Public in general & every good Man entertains of your ever memorable Services in India. I shall feel a particular Pleasure in expressing to you here in Person my Sentiments & shall wait with the utmost Impatience for the Performance of your kind Promise of coming to me at this Place & of bringing Mr Strachey along with you whom I shall be very glad to see both on his Account, & as He has had the Happyness to deserve your Approbation. What has happened farther with regard to our Public Affairs since you saw Mr Whately, I have desir'd our Friend Lord Powis (to whom I have related all that I know) to inform you of ; at the same Time that He will deliver this Letter to you. The Subject of the present Situation of Affairs both in Great Brittain & the East Indies is much too extensive for a Letter ; I reserve therefore all Comments both on the one & the other, till I have the Honor of seeing you here, & in the mean Time will only assure you of the High Value which I set upon your Friendship & Good Opinion, & of the perfect Esteem & Affectionate Regard with which, I am,

My Dear Lord,
Your Lordships
most Obedient
& most Faithful Humble Servant
GEORGE GRENVILLE.[1]

The next day Clive was admitted to private audiences by the King and Queen, both of whom received him most graciously. Clive wrote to his friend Verelst, who had succeeded him in the Governorship of Bengal, as follows :

"I write the Nabob Mahomed Ali by this conveyance. The Queen received his presents in the most gracious manner from my hands. I was in private with her Majesty in her closet near an hour ; and the chief part of the time was taken up about the Nabob and his prosperity. The Queen has promised me to write to him in the most gracious manner, and assured me at the same time of her disposition to render the Nabob any service in her power."[2]

Two days after his return Clive was introduced to the Court of Directors, when the Chairman, in the name of the Court, congratulated him on his return to his native country, and thanked him for the very eminent services he had rendered

[1] Powis MSS. [2] Malcolm, Vol. III., p. 219.

the Company by his wise and judicious administration of their affairs in Bengal.

On August 2 the question of the legacy left to Clive came before the Court of Directors, and it was unanimously resolved "that his Lordship be empowered to accept of the said legacy or donation, and they do highly approve of his Lordship's generosity in bestowing the said legacy of five lacs in so useful a charity; and they hereby consent and agree to accept of the trust of the said fund, and will give directions that the same be carried into execution in legal and proper form." [1] Three years, however, passed before this matter was adjusted. The Directors held the opinion that by the spirit of the covenants entered into by Clive he could not accept of the legacy without their consent. Clive maintained that, though he had been appointed Governor, he was at sea at the time the legacy had been left him, and had received none of the emoluments of the office, and was therefore free to receive the legacy without their consent. The matter was referred to Fletcher Norton, first Lord Grantley, who had held the office of Attorney-General, and on May 6, 1769, he submitted the following to the Court: "I am of opinion that Lord Clive, under the circumstances of this, is entitled to the above-mentioned legacy without the consent of the Court of Directors of the East India Company." On April 6, 1770, the Committee of the Military Fund was appointed to carry into effect a deed of agreement between Lord Clive and the Company, and the Fund which owed its origin to his magnificent generosity was founded.

Clive had been only a few weeks in London when he was attacked again by his malady, and the physicians ordered that he must at once leave town. He set forth for Bath, and, according to his promise, he and Strachey stayed on the way at Wotton. On August 16 George Grenville wrote thus to him:

Wotton
Aug.[t] 16: 1767

My Dear Lord,—I cannot help transmitting to you without Delay a Piece of Intelligence which I have receiv'd to Day, as it may

[1] Auber, p. 157.

possibly be of use to you to know it. The D. of Bedford told the D. of Marlborough yesterday at Blenheim that He had receiv'd recent Advice from the D. of Newcastle that the Parl^t would certainly be dissolv'd, & that it would probably be declar'd at the next Prorogation of y^e Parl^t on y^e 31^st of this Month. I think the D. of Newcastle likely to be well inform'd, & to be early appriz'd of a Measure of this Kind, but I know not the Ground upon which this Information is founded: I shall therefore leave it to your own Judgement, & shall be happy if it can be of any use to you, as I sincerely intend it. Tho' I would not trouble you with a Letter only to return you my Thanks for your kind Visit to me with M^r Strachey, & for the Hopes you gave me of repeating it in October, yet I cannot omitt doing it now, & expressing to you the Pleasure I receive in every Mesh of your Friendship, & assuring you at the Same Time of the sincere & affectionate Regard & Respect, with which I am,

My Dear Lord,
Your most Faithful,
& most Obedient Humble Servant
GEORGE GRENVILLE.[1]

The information proved correct. Grenville's Secretary wrote on August 28: "This day in Council the Parliament was prorogued to Wednesday the seventh day of October next." The same day Clive addressed to the Committee of Correspondence at the India House a long letter on Indian affairs. He again put forward his wide scheme for the reorganisation of the three Presidency armies. He advocated a considerable increase in the number of European soldiers sent to India and a new mode of recruiting.

"For the present," he wrote, "I think it Necessary You should send out Two Thousand Men, of whom Twelve hundred at the least, should go to Bengal; and I would suggest that Twelve Captains be appointed, who must Undertake to raise One hundred Men Each: This, they will gladly engage to perform, and at a less expence than the Company have usually incurred by Recruiting. The Men, I am also Convinced, will be much better Soldiers, than any that can be Obtained by the Method hitherto practised. It is however to be Observed, that if your Intention of Adopting this Plan, should transpire, and Officers be pressed upon You by Private Recommendations without Regard to Merit, our Expectations from Reinforcement proposed, will probably be Disappointed." [2]

The pay of the subalterns of the European regiments he proposed should be raised, but the field officers should

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

depend on their shares in the salt trade for an increase of salary.

The close of the letter was a vigorous vindication of his scheme, and he regarded the increase in emolument not as an increase of salary, but as a reward for long and good service. He wrote:

"The Means of regulating this Reward have frequently engaged my Attention, & after the most mature Deliberation, I have found none so convenient, proper or equitable as the Trade in Salt. If You grant a Commission on the Revenues the Sum will not only be large but known to the World. The Allowance being publicly ascertained, every man's Proportion will at times be the Occasion of much Discourse, Envy & Jealousy: The Great will interfere in your Appointments & Noblemen will perpetually solicit you to provide for the younger Branches of their Families—A Commission upon your Investments, whether upon the Provision in Bengal or upon the Sales in Europe is liable to the same Objections." [1]

Clive's judgment of the Court of Directors was by no means always sound; it often rests on his constant mistrust and suspicion of them. Soon after his great success in Bengal was known in England a motion was made at a General Court of Proprietors, held on March 18, 1767:

"That it is the opinion of this Court, that the important services rendered to the Company by Lord Clive merit a grateful acknowledgment and return; and that a grant to his Lordship, and his personal representatives, of an additional term in the jaghire of ten years, commencing from the determination of his Lordship's present right therein, would be a proper acknowledgement and return for such important services: and that it be recommended to the Court of Directors, that, upon any future propositions being made, either to Parliament, or to His Majesty's Ministers, this resolution of the General Court be humbly represented."

This motion was carried by the bare majority of twenty-five, but this was due to the indiscretion of Walsh, Clive's agent, who had prematurely brought it forward without consulting the Directors. Clive was naturally angry at the smallness of the majority, and he too readily accepted Walsh's statement that it was due to the hesitation of the Directors. When

[1] Powis MSS.

he returned to England the question of the *jaghire* had not been settled, but at the close of September a General Court was held, when the grant of the *jaghire* for the years additional, which had been recommended at the previous meeting, was conferred on him by a unanimous vote. On October 2 Scrafton, who was now a member of the Court of Directors, wrote thus to Clive at Walcot :

> My Lord,—I very sincerely congratulate you on the Resolution of the General Court on Friday which is carrying into Execution with all Expedition, & long may you live to enjoy it.
>
> Counsellor Wedderburne told Sir George Colebroke Wheatly told him you had expressed in pretty strong terms (which were repeated) your disapprobation of Rous & Saunders for unfitness & Colebroke & Cust for their Politicks & that you wished to purge the Direction of them & many others. Jones says if these are your Lordship's Sentiments it will be becoming your Character to act openly in it & declare it. The Authority is so good that I suppose it a very impertinent misrepresentation of something that may have dropped from your Lordship in an unreserved Conversation, for I would not wish you really to entertain such a design, for whatever defects they may have Certainly the present Directors have the merit of having very steadily supported your Lordship while abroad & are entirely disposed to pay the utmost attention to your advice at home. Nor can A Variance take place between them & your Lordship without fatal Consequences to the Company's affairs by inovations in the System abroad if thro' our Divisions the opposite party should Come in with all their Views & Claims & by fatal Effects at home from the keeping up that Contention of Party which is now almost subdued by our great Superiority & the Servants abroad are become submissive from the appearance of the power continuing in the same hands & with it a pursuit of those spirited Measures which have brought them to a proper Sense of their duty. If your Lordship conceives any resentment on the Conduct of the Directors respecting the Jaghire you will act from misrepresentation. One or two were Cold on the Subject by believing themselves the objects of your resentment in Consequence of Wheatlys Story but the General Sense was We cannot as Directors recommend so Large a Grant, the fate the question met with before proves that many thought it too much, but we will give our Votes for it. to Conclude My Lord I really think it for your own Honor & for the Interest of the Company to Support the present Sett." [1]

Clive was indignant at the apparent reluctance of the Directors to take a leading part in the question of the *jaghire*.

[1] Powis MSS.

But he did not realise the difficult and delicate rôle they had to play. Rous, Scrafton, and many other Directors who were his friends and supporters, knew that a substantial number of the Court of the Proprietors were hostile to them. They had incurred their hostility by opposing an increase in the dividend to 12½ per cent., which a General Court, held on May 6, 1767, had voted. The Court of Directors had also aroused considerable hostility by taking legal proceedings against Mr. John Johnstone and the other members of Council in England who had received presents from the successor of Meer Jaffier on his accession after the Covenants had arrived. The inculpated officials were men of wealth who had powerful political friends, and they threatened to attack the conduct of Clive at a General Court if the prosecution were not withdrawn. The Court refused. Mr. Johnstone and his friends exerted all their influence to effect a change of Directors. But in the election of April, 1767, they failed, and Mr. Rous, an old friend of Clive, was again chosen Chairman. But Johnstone and his party, having split £125,000 stock into shares, were a powerful factor in the Court of Proprietors. It was due to their support that the dividend was raised to 12½ per cent., and at the same General Court, held on May 6, 1767, the motion was carried that the prosecution be withdrawn. Considering the defeat of the Court of Directors on a matter so closely connected with Clive, and that Johnstone and his party had already threatened to bring forward a motion with regard to his conduct, his friends in the Court displayed considerable tact and judgment in getting the extension of the *jaghire* carried unanimously without a debate. The intractable Clive, however, refused to take an impartial view of the incident. On October 6 he answered Scrafton's letter. After accusing the Directors of "rank infernal jealousy and envy, to conceal and lessen my services," he observes:

"I cannot but take notice of one paragraph of your letter; *that the Directors thought the grant too large, and therefore would not recommend it:* I am therefore the more obliged to the Proprietors, who were all of a different way of thinking.

" I am obliged to you for your advice about my conduct towards the Directors, because I am persuaded you mean me well ; but know, Scrafton, I have a judgment of my own, which has seldom failed me, in cases of much greater consequence than what you recommend. As to the support which, you say, was given to my government, when abroad, by the Directors, they could not have done otherwise, without suffering in their reputation, and perhaps quitting the Direction. In return, let me ask, whose interest contributed to make them Directors, and keep them so ? My conduct wanted no support, it supported itself, because it was disinterested, and tended to nothing but the public good. From the beginning it put all mankind at defiance, as it does at this hour : and had the Court of Directors thought fit to make my conduct more public than they have done, all impartial and disinterested men must have done me justice. However, that remains for myself to make known, when convenient and proper."

He proceeds to state " that what Whately is said to have told Wedderburn is absolutely false," and he thus closes it :

" However, as I have often said before, and say now, there is nothing the Directors can do shall make me lose sight of the Company's true interest. Upon principle, I would always stand by the East India Company : I am now farther bound by the ties of gratitude. This is the ground upon which I now stand, and upon which I will risk my reputation. No little, partial considerations shall ever bias me."

Clive had a tendency to call his own motives by their best names—a tendency which is specially pronounced in writing familiar letters to the friends who had been with him in proud past years. Clive was also annoyed at the Court of Directors not accepting his measures of reform without discussion. Rulers who have exercised enormous power and governed great dependencies find it difficult to realise that the first duty of a controlling office is to control. Scrafton, the staunchest of friends, wrote to him on October 9 : " I only know the pains I take to keep things right, but unless you come to town and support me I cannot maintain the proper system." The next day he wrote to Clive informing him that " The Committee " had " determined to raise 2000 Men including 100 Experienced Serjeants . . . They then Considered what your Lordship has recommended to them respecting the forming the Regiments with two Batallions each of 500 Men, in the

Execution of which they meet with difficulties." [1] Scrafton proceeded to discuss in detail the difficulties that had arisen, and asked him to send at once his opinion regarding them, as the letter to Bengal would be dispatched next week. The same day Scrafton sent another letter to Clive, saying, " Old Lawrence has been with us & very much approves your Military Plan, & he & Caillaud are forming the Madras Troops on the same plan. I have a thousand questions to ask on the Bengal Affairs too long to write unless I find We must give over seeing you." [2] On the 10th Scrafton sent to him a conciliatory letter concerning the strong appeal he had made for not abolishing the plan he had adopted for conducting the salt trade. Scrafton wrote :

" The Committee cannot quite Concur in your Lordship's Opinion for continuing the Salt Trade in the hands of the English, They still think such a Monopoly in the hands of those who possess such an over ruling Influence in the Government will be liable to great Abuses, they therefore have under Consideration some other mode to reward their Servants & wish to have your Lordship's Opinion in what manner the most Revenue can be Secured to the Company with the Least Opposition." [3]

Clive was evidently greatly annoyed at the decision, for, on October 13, we find the patient Scrafton writing thus to him :

" I have just rec.d y.e favor of y.r two Letters & am very sorry at the Sentiments that are taking place in your Lordship's mind about the Directors except what relates to your intention to pursue the good of the Company without regard to individuals. If your Lordship was in Town they would desire Conferences with you as they do with General Lawrence and you would have weight to Carry any thing you please, what is wanted is a free discussion, without which men without the necessary local Knowledge cannot Comprehend nor be Convinced." [4]

Clive was at Walcot, recovering from a severe attack of illness accompanied by excruciating pain which had attacked him during a visit to Birmingham. On October 10 Grenville wrote to him :

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

WOTTON
Oct. 10: 1767

MY DEAR LORD,—I heard with great Concern of your being Seiz'd with an Illness at Birmingham in your Way to Town, & was much griev'd, at our being disappointed of the Pleasure which we propos'd to ourselves in Seeing your Lordship Lady Clive & M^r. Strachey here according to your kind Intentions, & still more so for the Cause of it. I flatter myself from your Letter that you are now in a great Measure recover'd from it, & that the Quiet you now enjoy at home together with the Use you propose to make of the Bath Waters will entirely complete the Cure, & that I shall have the Happiness to see you in Town in the Winter in perfect Health. Allow me to express the Satisfaction which I feel at the Sense which the General Court of the East India Company have shown almost unanimously of the great & eminent Services you have perform'd for them, which tho' of a very different Kind, have not been less conspicuous or less difficult in your last Expedition to India, than in the former. No One can be more desirous to do Justice to them than I am, or more glad to embrace every Opportunity to show the Value which I set upon your Friendship, & to manifest the Sincere Esteem & Affectionate Regard, with which I am,

My Dear Lord,
Your Lordship's,
Most Obedient
& most Faithful Humble Servant
GEORGE GRENVILLE.

Mrs. Grenville joins with me
in offering our best Respects
to Lady Clive, & I beg the
Favor of you to make my
Kind Compliments to M^r Strachey.[1]

At the close of October, when at Styche, Clive had another attack of his malady, and his physicians advised him to return at once to Bath. On November 7 he wrote from Bath to Verelst:

"With regard to myself, my health has been very indifferent ever since my arrival; but I am now following a regimen which has done me much service, and will, I hope, recover me entirely. I have met with the most gracious reception from the King and Queen, and a very respectful and honourable one from the Court of Directors; nor is there any doubt of my getting an English Peerage, whenever I make application for that purpose, which, I understand, is always the custom: but the very unsettled Administration, and my private notions, will not admit of my applying at present. Hereafter, in all probability, the thing will come to pass." [2]

[1] Powis MSS. [2] Malcolm, Vol. III., p. 216.

Clive then proceeded to express his opinion regarding the conduct of the Directors towards him:

"You see my jaghire is at last continued to me and my representatives for ten years after the expiration of my present right. I am more obliged to the Proprietors for this grant than to the Directors, who threw a great deal of cold water upon it. Indeed, their whole conduct towards me and my associates in Committee has shown weakness, or something worse; for they have upon all occasions endeavoured to lessen the acquisitions we have obtained for them, and kept everything that might contribute to our reputation as secret as possible; and, if Parliament had not brought our transactions to light, mankind would have been ignorant of what has been done. In short, they appear very envious and jealous of my influence, and give ear to every idle story of my being hostile towards them. Every thing looks as if we were not upon good terms. They have even asked my opinion upon their affairs in such a mean, sneaking manner, that I have informed one of them, unless I am applied to in form, and unless more attention be paid to my advice, I shall decline giving any whatsoever. Thus stand matters at present; but how long they may remain so I know not, nor what changes may happen at the next election.

"From the manner in which I carried the extension of the jaghire, I conclude the Directors will pay more attention to my opinions than they lately did; but it will be rather through fear than inclination. They desired, and I consented to a conference with them, and intended going to London from Shropshire on purpose; but my health has obliged me to come to Bath, where I daily expect a deputation to consult on many important points which the gentlemen cannot themselves readily determine upon."

In reading this letter and some others written at the same time, we must remember the malady which clouded the intellect and deepened the gloom of an imperious nature. Scrafton's letters could hardly be regarded as seeking his opinion in "a mean, sneaking manner." On October 29 the Court of Directors had sent him the following courteous letter:

My Lord,—In consequence of your Lordship's Letter of the 22nd Instant the Gentlemen of the Committees of Correspondence and Treasury meet at this House on Monday next the 2d of November at 12 o'Clock precisely, when they hope to have the honor of your Lordship's Company, if that time will be convenient to your Lordship. Some Hints of the Subjects upon which your Lord-

ship's Sentiments will be then desired, I have the honor of now enclosing.

I am with great Respect
My Lord
Your Lordship's most Obed^{t} &
most humble Servant
Rob^{t} James
Sec^{ry} [1]

East India House /
29th *October* 1767.

On November 4 the Court of Directors again wrote to him:

My Lord,—I have it in Command from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to inform your Lordship, that the Company's Seal has been this Day affixed to the Instrument for the Extension of your Lordship's Jaghire, in consequence of the Resolution of the General Court of the 23rd September last, and that it lays here to be delivered agreeable to your Lordship's Directions, as does likewise the Counterpart of the same to be executed by your Lordship when you come to London. I am to add also, that the said Court most sincerely wish your Lordship a happy Enjoyment of this Mark of the Company's grateful Acknowledgment of your eminent Services.

I am with great Respect
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most Obedient
and most humble Servant
Rob^{t} James
Sec^{ry} [2]

East India House
London 4th *November* 1767.

Regardless of ill-health and much suffering, Clive's attention bent steadfastly upon Indian affairs. On November 14 he wrote to the Court of Directors:

Bath
14th *Nov^{r}* 1767.

Gentlemen,—The Duty which I owe to the Company will not suffer me to be silent on a Subject wherein their Interest seems so deeply concerned.

I learn, and with Surprise, that You propose to lay open the Salt Trade, receiving only a Duty of Ten Rupees upon every hundred Maund at the Colarries or Places where the Salt is made.

Permit me to repeat to You that the Trade in Salt, was always a Monopoly, Coja Wazied, and other Merchants long before him, giving to the Nabob and his Ministers near Two hundred Thousand

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

Pounds in Money and Presents, for the exclusive Privilege. The Natives never had the Advantages You now propose to give them, and will be greatly astonished at so unexpected and extraordinary Indulgence.

Although You may think proper to deprive your Servants of those Advantages which I so strongly recommended in my Minute in Committee, upon the Subject of new modelling the Salt Trade, yet I cannot help taking the liberty to request You will most maturely deliberate upon your present Plan before You issue an Order which will deprive the Company of Three hundred thousand pounds P Annum, a Sum which I am of Opinion they are justly entitled to, if they receive the Benefits which their Servants lately received, and the Duties which the Select Committee allotted to them upon this Trade ; whereas the Company by your laying the Trade open, and taking only ten Rupees P hundred Maund, will receive only £31,500.

I must farther presume to observe to You, that even upon the Plan you now propose, the Trade will, as it ever must, continue, in some Degree, a Monopoly, and that the Servants, from the Power and Influence they have throughout the Country, may be concerned in it to what Extent they will, under their Banyans and the black Merchants.

It was only by Accident that I became acquainted with your Intentions. I am entirely a Stranger to the Contents of the Letters which are now upon the point of being dispatched by the *Admiral Watson* to the Governor and Council and to the Select Committee of Bengal ; but I hope this Representation will reach You in good time, that You may reconsider an Object so very important to the Company's Interest.

I have the honor to be
Gentlemen
Your most obed.t Servant
CLIVE.[1]

The Court sent a firm answer on November 20 :

MY LORD,—The Committee of Correspondence and Treasury have received the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 14.th November, and in deference to your Opinion have reconsidered the Subject of the Salt Trade and the Committee remain fixed in their Resolution to abolish the Monopoly of Salt, esteeming it a Duty the Company owe to the Natives of the Country to protect them in their Natural right to an open Trade in the Commodities made & Consumed in the Country, and to limit the Trade of the Europeans within the Phirmaund Bounds ; This and the Conciliating the Affections of the Natives (which they esteem the best Security of the Revenues) by a Reduction of the Price of this material necessary of Life, have been the Chief objects of their Attention in the Regulations they have formed ; The Committee were in hopes your Lordship's Health

[1] Powis MSS.

would have permitted You to favor them with the Conference they desired, disappointed in that, they endeavoured to obtain the best information they could, but as nothing they could learn either from the Company's own Records or the Opinion of others, pointed out the Quantity on which the Duty was to be collected, they had Calculated the Rate of 10 Sicca Rupees per 100 Buzar Maunds, as bearing a proportion to what they conceived was formerly levied by the Government, but as your Lordship's Letter, by giving them your Idea of the produce of that duty, points out the Quantity on which it is to be collected, they find the Sum far short of what was Expected, and have accordingly ordered the Duty to be proportioned to Revenue of £100,000 (not to exceed) £120,000 P Annum and to the keeping the Price at 140 Sicca Rupees or lower, including the Duties.

Your Lordship's Representations of the propriety of encreasing the legal Advantages of the Company's Superior Servants have had their just weight with the Committee, and as the mode of a Commission on the Revenue has several Precedents both in Bengal and on the Coast, and was the mode Your Lordship adopted for recompensing the President for the giving up his Trade, the Court have thought that the most Eligible, and have accordingly ordered 2½ P Cent on the whole Revenues, deducting the Tributes to the King and the Nabob, and the stipend to the Ministers to be set apart as a fund for encreasing the Gratuities to the Servants, of this the Governour has 31 out of 100 Shares and the Select Committee, the Council residing in Calcutta, and the Field Officers are all so considered, that a very few Years' continuance in their Ranks, insures them That moderate Independance, which ought to be the bounds of their Expectations.

I am with great Respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most Obedient
& most Humble Servt
Robt James
Secry [1]

East India House
Lond.N 20th *Novemr* 1767.

Clive pointed out to the Commons the disastrous consequence of this decision:

"The servants received the two and a half per cent on the revenues; they traded in salt as much as ever, but without paying the duty, and I am well informed that the Company, from the time of the abolition of the Committee's plan to this hour, have not received a shilling duty. Finally, the Court of Directors suffered this branch of trade to revert to the very channel from whence had flowed all those abuses and all those misfortunes which they had so loudly

[1] Powis MSS.

complained of. This trade, contrary to their own ideas of equity to the natives, and contrary to the advice of the sages of the law, is now laid open to the English, and to every European, as well as native, inhabitant of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The consequences of this we are still to learn. As the case stands at present, the Court of Directors have in all this time (five years) given up no less than £1,500,000 which the Company ought to have received if the emoluments taken from the servants had been added to the duty proposed by the Select Committee. And in this sum is not included the two and a half per cent commission granted out of the revenues."

During December Clive stayed at Bath, and, though he had frequent attacks of his malady, he carried on a regular correspondence with numerous friends in Madras and Bengal, and with Walsh and other agents, regarding the campaign to be pursued at the next election. From boroughs in almost every county there came pressing invitations for him to name a candidate. He wrote to Verelst:

"We shall come very strong into Parliament this year—seven without opposition, probably one more: Lord Clive, Shrewsbury; Richard Clive, Montgomery; William and George Clive, Bishop's Castle; John Walsh, Worcester; Henry Strachey, Pontefract; and Edmund Maskelyne, probably either for Whitechurch or Cricklade."

Walsh, besides being Clive's confidential agent, was also in close relationship with Grenville. On December 19, 1767, Grenville sent to Clive this important letter:[1]

Bolton Street
*Dec*r. 19th 1767

My Dear Lord,—I desir'd Mr. Walsh to inform you of such Particulars relative to our Political Situation as I was then appriz'd of, & as I have now an Opportunity by the Means of my Friend General Irwin, who is setting out for Bath, & will deliver this Letter to you, to inform you of what I have heard this Morning concerning the Arrangement to be made for some of the D: of Bedford's Friends, I would not omitt giving you the earliest Intelligence of it. That Arrangement I am told is settled in the following Manner. Lord Gower to be Lord President, in the Room of Lord Northington, who retires upon a Pension of 4000L a year; Lord Weymouth to be Secretary of State for the Northern Department, in the Room of Gen. Conway, who retires to the Lieutenancy of the Ordnance, & is to have the first good Regiment; The D. of Marlborough to have the first Vacant Garter; Lord Hillsborough to have a new created Office

[1] Powis MSS.

of third Secretary of State for the Plantations, with a new Salary, & Lord Sandwich to be one of the Post Masters General instead of Lord Hillsborough ; Mr Rigby to be one of the Vice Treasurers of Ireland instead of Mr Oswald who retires upon a Provision to be made for his son ; Lord Charles Spenser to have the Vacant Seat at the Admiralty Board.[1] This I have reason to believe is the whole of the present Change, & I sincerely wish it may be attended with an Alteration of Public Measures for the better, which is the only Alteration in which the Public is concern'd. The Committment of the Bill for restraining the E. India Company's Divnds is put off till after the Holydays, by which Time I flatter myself that your Health will be recover'd so as to enable you to come to Town & to give us such Information of the State of their Affairs, as may prevent any Imprudence or Rashness from the Company on the one Hand, & any Violence, Injustice, or Breach of Public Faith from the Parliament on the other. To these Public Motives which make me ardently wish for your Recovery, let me add those which arise from the personal Friendship, & Sincere Regard I truely bear to you. General Irwin who will deliver this Letter to you is in all Respects a very worthy honorable Gentleman & a Particular Friend of mine, & as such I hope will be agreable to you, if you are well enough to See Him. for my own Part, My Dear Lord, you will find me exactly in the Same Opinions as you left me, & I shall be happy if in the middest of these Changes, which Mr Walsh will have told you I see without the least Anger or Uneasiness, I can preserve my Public Character, & my Private Friendships, the former I trust is in my own Power, & the latter I hope I shall never forfeit, especially that with which you have honour'd me, & which I shall allways endeavour to maintain by the cordial & Affectionate Regard, with which I am,

My Dear Lord,
Your Lordship's,
Most Faithful,
& most Obedient Humble Servant
GEORGE GRENVILLE.

I beg the Favor of your
Lordship to present Mrs.
Grenville's & my Respects
to Lady Clive & my best Complts
to Mr Walsh & Mr Strachey

[1] Whately wrote to Grenville—Monday, December 14, 1767: " I called at your house just to tell you the following particulars concerning the negotiations with the Bedfords, which I take to be authentic."—Grenville Papers, Vol. IV., p. 194. Walpole writes : " The negotiation was at length completed on the 18th of December on these terms :—Mr. Conway was to remain Secretary of State till February, and then resign the Seals to Lord Weymouth. Lord Gower to be President ; Lord Sandwich, Postmaster ; Rigby, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, with the promise of Paymaster on the first opportunity ; a Garter to the Duke of Marlborough, and a Baron's Coronet to Mr. Brand, when any Peers should be created ; with some less considerable places for others of their dependants. Yet did even this arrangement cost nine thousand, others said fifteen thousand,

On the Letter is noted "Ans.d 28.th"; the following is the answer:

BATH, *December* 28, 1767.

DEAR SIR,—I should long ere this have acknowledged the receipt of your very obliging letter by General Irwin, had I not been seized with so violent a return of my old complaint that I was totally incapacitated from writing, and even now, though I am considerably relieved, I cannot employ my own hand to thank you for your repeated expressions of friendship and regard. The relapses of my disorder are so frequent and dangerous, that Dr. Moysey insists upon my making all possible haste to a more temperate climate, and I have accordingly determined to set out in a week or two for the South of France and Italy. This journey I am frankly told is the only chance I have for a perfect recovery. I did flatter myself that my health was so far improved, that I might be able to attend Parliament a little, after the holidays, and I am sure I should have been happy if any communication of the knowledge I have acquired (of affairs) in India could have contributed to an equitable arrangement of them for the mutual advantage of the nation and of the Company. But the establishment of my health must now supersede all other considerations, and my best wishes are all I can offer to you and the public. The time, I think, cannot be far distant when your superior abilities as a Minister will oblige the King to call you again into Administration. For his sake and for the country's, I hope the event is near, but for your own, I ought, perhaps, to wish that you might pass the remainder of your life in the tranquil enjoyment of private friendship, and in pleasing reflections upon that great and unspotted public character which you have already acquired. Lady Clive joins with me in most respectful compliments to Mrs. Grenville, and I have the honour to remain, &c., &c.

CLIVE.[1]

Early in January, Clive, accompanied by Lady Clive, her relative Mrs. Latham, and "the family party" of Government House, Calcutta—Edmund Maskelyne, Strachey and Ingham—went to Paris. The change of scene and the conditions of life improved his health. He submitted to the severity of regimen, reducing the doses of opium which he took to diminish pain. On February 9 he wrote from Paris to Verelst:

pounds, a-year to Government. Lord Northington who enriched himself by every distress and change, got three thousand pounds a-year for ceding the post of President. Lord Hilsborough obtained as much for that of Postmaster, and Oswald was indemnified for the temporary admission of Rigby to the Vice-Treasurership; yet was Lord Bute displeased with Oswald's dismission, though the latter was fallen into a state of dotage, and appeared no more."—Walpole's "Memoirs of George III.," Vol. III., pp. 140–1.

[1] Grenville Papers, Vol. IV., pp. 200–1.

"I am certain it will give you infinite pleasure to hear of my safe arrival at this place, and of my recovery beyond what either my friends or myself could have imagined or expected in so short a time. The remedy, I believe, was found out before I left England; but the travelling and climate have undoubtedly done me much good. In short, by the time I have spent a few months in the south of France, and drank the waters of Spa, I doubt not of enjoying a better state of health than I have done for some years."

As Verelst was in distant Bengal, he did not consider it indiscreet to reveal an important secret.

"Let me tell you in secret," he remarked, "that I have the King's command to lay before him my ideas of the Company's affairs both at home and abroad, with a promise of his countenance and protection in every thing I might attempt for the good of the nation and the Company."

Clive was a lover of Oriental art and a good judge of what was best in its many regions. At Paris his interest in European art was first awakened, and he "bought a set of historical tapestries of the celebrated manufacture of the Gobelins; several capital pictures, two compleat services of the porcelain of St. Cloud." From Paris Clive went to Fontainebleau, where it is said he met Bussy, and if the Frenchman's account of their conversation is to be credited, it was in substance as follows:

"Bussy who was the declared enemy of Monsieur de Lally, attributed the unsuccessful attempt against Madrass; the loss of Pondicherry, and the total expulsion of the French from the provinces of Bengal, to that unfortunate general's misconduct, avarice and obstinacy. Lord Clive replied, that he looked upon Lally as a brave and experienced officer, whom he thought deserved a better fate; that he was not perhaps a proper man for the first command of the French forces in India, as really the event had shewn, that ever since he had assumed it, excepted a few encounters where the French had the advantage, their affairs went on the decline on the peninsula of Indus (*sic*) after they had lost their chief emporium, by Mr. Lally's ill luck, or want of judgment. But, continued his lordship, it would be ungenerous to lay to his charge, all your errors and disappointments in Indostan. Mr. Dupleix's craft and policy had given to the French a great ascendency over the country powers, whom he began to divide. In order to rule over them, you forced us to counterbalance the arts of French finesse, (allow me the expression) by an army more formidable than either you, or us, had ever sent into

India. In this mutual struggle for the empire of the East, we were more fortunate than you; and as rivals in arms, we thought our victories inadequate to our expectations, if we did not prevent your future settlements in the Bengal provinces.

"As for making and deposing nabobs, which is the grand field of impeachment of my enemies; you know, sir, that Mr. Dupleix had for the first example, your principal officers as well as ours have received presents from the country powers; if the last time I had the honour to command in Bengal, I put a stop to this prevalent custom, it was because divers officers of inferior rank in the army, claimed the same favours as veterans; and I know an officer who has his fortune to make, will fight better, than he, who has acquired one beyond his sanguine wishes."

"'But pray,' said Mr. De Bussy, 'you cannot flatter yourselves to remain the absolute rulers of Indostan; all the Europeans settled in those parts know, that the nabob's are mere cyphers, even the Mogul himself, are the mere tools of your uncontrolled power and dominion. It is not from the Asiatic princes that I expect a revolution, but from us, the Dutch and the Danes, especially if the English government leave your East India company in possession of immense acquisitions, that they will not be able to preserve or enjoy. As for us, the trade to the East Indies is free and open; it is become a national concern, a fine field for adventurers, who may some day be powerfully supported by an army sufficient to assist the country princes, in recovering their independance and their territories. Believe, my lord, we have not given up India, our claims lay dormant at present, and we shall lay them, when we can assert them with the sword.'" [1]

From Fontainebleau, Clive, passing through Orleans, where he made a brief halt, travelled to Lyons, where "he purchased a great quantity of velvets, rich silks, silver and gold tissues, &c., designed for his use, or presents to some of his correspondents in India." From Lyons he proceeded to Avignon. Every stage of the tour brought some proof of the interest which his presence aroused in the minds of the chivalrous French, and the letters he received display their desire to welcome their illustrious antagonist. At Avignon "he was received with great distinction by the Pope's Vice-legate, and the nobility and gentry of this capital vied with each other in showing to this noble guest the same respect and attention." Towards the end of February Clive reached

[1] Caraccioli, Vol. II., pp. 405–7.

Montpellier, where he resided for some time. His health having greatly improved, he returned to Paris and went on to Spa to drink the waters. In a letter to him, written on June 28, George Clive says: "It gives great satisfaction to your Friends on this side the water to hear the surprizing accounts of your recovery and I hope you will never have occasion for the opium." At this time Clive must have purchased the lease of Lord Chatham's house at Bath, for the letter contains the following postscript: "I paid Lord Chatham £767 for his Furniture."

Clive's health having so greatly improved, his thoughts turned once more to England. His physicians advised him to remain on the Continent, as winter in England is not the most genial season in the world. But Clive's hopes and apprehensions on behalf of the existence of the Company reached unto the heart, and were closely interwoven with his health and happiness. He wrote to Verelst:

"I cannot but acknowledge that my recovery gives me a more particular pleasure from the prospect I have of exerting myself in favour of the Company next winter, a time very critical for them indeed, since it will then be finally determined upon what footing they are to be in future; whether a part, or the whole, or none of the power be lodged in them hereafter."

At the end of August Clive started on his return journey. On September 16 Lord Powis wrote to him: "I take this opportunity of congratulating your Lordship, on your return to England: I do it more cordially as I understand you are come back in good health & are gone to Shrewsbury Races." Later on, in September, Clive was in London, and on the 29th received the following invitation:

"The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, present their Respectful Compliments to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, and desire the honour of his Lordship's Company, to dine on a Turtle, with the Gentlemen in the Direction, at the King's Arms in Cornhill, on Wednesday next the 5th of October, at half past three o'Clock in the afternoon." [1]

During Clive's absence from England one of the most memorable elections in the annals of England had taken place:

[1] Powis MSS.

Wilkes was elected for the County of Middlesex. Several of Clive's candidates were successful. John Walsh was elected for Worcester, but Strachey was not returned for Pontefract till November. Clive reappeared in Parliament as member for his old constituency Shrewsbury, and he at the same time plunged into the whirlpool of India House politics. It would have been well for Clive if he had followed the sound advice of George Grenville, "to keep yourself in the honourable state of a public man, only contributing your advice and assistance when asked to preserve to this country that great empire which you had so great a share in acquiring." But Clive felt that the future prosperity of "that great empire" was now at stake. The agreement made with the Company on February 1, 1767, was about to expire, and the Ministry were anxious that a new agreement should be made for five years, during which time the Company were guaranteed the territorial revenues, but were bound to pay an annuity of £400,000 and to export each year British merchandise, exclusive of naval and military stores, to the amount of £380,837. Clive had not approved of the first agreement, and he exercised all his influence in the Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors against any renewal, but, owing to the united influence of the Ministry and the Directors, the proposed agreement was carried for one year in a General Court by a majority of forty. On February 10, 1769, Clive wrote to an old friend in Bengal:

"Our wide and extended possessions are become too great for the mother country, or for our abilities, to manage. America is making great strides towards independency; so is Ireland. The East Indies also, I think, cannot remain long to us, if our present constitution be not altered. A Direction for a year only, and that time entirely taken up in securing Directors for the year to come, cannot long maintain that authority which is requisite for the managing and governing such extensive, populous, rich, and powerful kingdoms as the East India Company are at present possessed of. So far are our Ministers from thinking of some plan for securing this great and national object, that they think of nothing but the present moment, and of squeezing from the Company every shilling they have to spare, and even more than they can well spare, consistent with their present circumstances."

About a month later he wrote in the same strain to Sykes :

"The conduct of the Directors, in committing themselves in the manner they have done to Administration, is unworthy of them, and contrary to their duty as Directors. In my conduct, I have taken up the great line of future advantage, both to the nation and to the Company. I spoke long upon the subject in the House of Commons, and with some applause, but all to no purpose ; the necessities of the state, and present gain, weighed down and overpowered all argument."

On February 27, 1769, "the Administration," says Walpole, "laid before the House the agreement with the East India Company, which after a long debate, in which it was rather discussed than contested, passed without a division, Grenville himself approving it. Lord Clive spoke against it, and gave an account of the bad posture of their affairs in India. He was answered by Governor Johnstone, who imputed those misfortunes to Lord Clive's own conduct, and even reproached him with the murder of the Nabob." [1] Burke, afterwards its most bitter foe, appeared as the advocate of the Company, and defended the annual election of Directors as a system under which the Company had prospered. "Men," he observed, "continually watched by their constituents are worked into vigour. If the Direction were established for a number of years the Directors might form themselves into Cabals." [2] Clive was greatly annoyed by the agreement being sanctioned by the House, and in a letter to Sir Robert Barker, dated March 5, 1769, he observed :

"To tell you the truth, after the next general election, I find myself very much disposed to withdraw myself from all public concerns whatever. My own happiness and that of my family is the only object I have in view, and that can only be obtained by retirement from the bustle and noise of a busy, debauched, and half-ruined nation."

A month after this letter was written the April election at the General Court was held, and Sulivan and his friends

[1] "The murder of Suraja-ud-Dowlah, one of the greatest of the lying charges brought against Clive in the numerous scurrilous pamphlets issued by Johnstone and his party."—"Memoirs of the Reign of King George III.," by Horace Walpole, edited by Sir Denis Le Marchant, Bart. Vol. III., p. 341.

[2] *Ibid., ibid.* N. p. 242.

LADY CLIVE

From a painting in the possession of Mrs. Story-Maskelyne

regained their power in the Court of Directors. This was chiefly due to the influence of the Ministers who were jealous of Clive's political power always exercised in favour of the Grenville party. Grenville had opposed the expulsion of Wilkes from the House, and when Wedderburn, the most able Scottish lawyer, had, on account of his defence of the electors of Middlesex, to vacate his seat for Richmond, Clive took steps for providing him with another seat. On May 9 he wrote thus to Wedderburn:

WESTCOMBE, *May* 9, 1769.

SIR,—I am sorry that any personal or party motive should have deprived you of that seat in Parliament which you filled with so much honour and unbiassed ability. If another seat be acceptable, I have one at your service, in which you will at all times be at liberty to exert your talents upon your own principles. I am, with sentiments of the greatest esteem, &c., &c.

CLIVE.[1]

Wedderburn replied as follows:

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, *May* 10, 1769.

MY LORD,—I cannot be sorry for an incident that has produced to me so distinguished a proof of your Lordship's esteem. The principles which govern your conduct are so truly honourable, that I have not the least scruple to accept the offer you are so obliging as to make me, and I am extremely flattered to receive it at this time from one whose approbation of my conduct the world will respect. I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

AL. WEDDERBURN.[2]

The same day Clive wrote to Grenville:

WESTCOMBE, *May* 10, 1769.

DEAR SIR,—Inclosed I send you copies of my letter to Mr. Wedderburn, and his answer.

I am very sorry my being in the country will not permit my assuring him in person how happy his acceptance of my offer has made me, and I must request you will intimate as much to him; and my wish that his election for another place may remain a secret until the time approaches for my showing him that mark of my respect and esteem. Although I am fully convinced that ministerial influence and power can effect nothing against me, yet, by having six months' notice, they may occasion trouble and delay in the pur-

[1] Grenville Papers, Vol. IV., p. 422. [2] *Ibid.*

chase of some estates which I am making in those parts, for the purpose of entirely surrounding the town of B[ishop's] C[astle] with my own possessions.—I am, &c. CLIVE.[1]

Clive completed the purchase of some of the estates. He had also acquired, when absent in France, a fine property in Montgomeryshire. Clive had not reached fifty years of age, he had won great victories, he had ruled a vast kingdom, but it was difficult to fulfil the desire to obtain power and to use it well. With wealth to back him, great country estates, troops of adherents, he would gather influence and be a power in Parliament and the India House. He did not consider that his invaluable service to England had been sufficiently rewarded by an Irish peerage. During his absence in Bengal he expended a large sum in adding and improving at "Old Styche," and he employed William Chambers, whose Somerset House is an imposing example of English architecture of the time, to erect a new great country house in the place of the old mansion.

Walcot, with its calm variety of distant purple hills, wide woods, and green meadows sloping down to a stream, was his favourite residence during the summer time. To Walcot he transferred the exuberant hospitality of the East. The house was constantly filled with guests, and it was the centre of brilliant gaiety and high spirits. When life was not darkened by passages of gloom and melancholy, Clive was the brightest of companions, and he entered heartily into all the sports and enjoyments of country life. A ducal house in Belgravia, a fine mansion at Walcot, a country seat at Styche, many broad acres in Shropshire and Wales, did not satisfy the earth-hunger of Clive or his love of building. On December 22, 1769, he wrote to Verelst: "When you arrive in England you will find me at Claremont, a delightful place, about fourteen miles from London, and in your way from Portsmouth, if you land at that place."[2] He at once began to make extensive and costly alterations in the house.

In January, 1770, Verelst retired from the Government of

[1] Grenville Papers, Vol. IV., pp. 422–3.
[2] Malcolm, Vol. III., p. 247.

Bengal. His tenure of office had been beset with many grave difficulties. The Madras Government entered into an alliance with the Nizam, and declared war against Hyder Ali, who had dethroned his master, the Hindu sovereign, and usurped his throne, and converted the state of Mysore into an extensive and powerful kingdom. The campaign, ill-managed, raged for some years, and was brought to a close by a disastrous peace made in 1769. The expense of this war drained the treasuries of Madras and Bengal. Verelst's Select Committee wrote to the Court :

" To give them every possible support from hence we have deem'd it indispensably a Duty we owe to you, our Hon'ble Employers ; for, being Servants of the same Masters, and being engaged in one general Cause, we have regarded the Welfare of your Settlement of Fort St. George equally with our own."

They sent them large sums of money, sufficient to support the Madras army for some months, and they promised them more in case of need, but " we could not but inform them of the very distressed State to which this Country must inevitably be reduced by such considerable exportations of its Specie." In a letter to the Court of Directors, Verelst gives the following reason for the distressed state of the country :

" When the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa came under your jurisdiction, they were much sunk in opulence, population, and manufactures, from their ancient importance. The almost continual irruptions of the Maharattas, under the government of Alliverdy Cawn, and the avarice of the ministers under the supineness of Serajah al Dowlah, the necessities of Meer Jaffier, and the iron hand of the rapacious and blood-thirsty Meer Cossim, struck equally at the property of the rich, and industry of the poor ; and while it reduced the one to indigence, compelled the other to seek safety in flight. If, to these, we add, first, the immense amount in specie and jewels to the value of between three and five crores of rupees, secreted or carried off by Cossim, after his several defeats had obliged him to relinquish all hopes of a reinstatement ; 2ndly, The royal tribute of twenty-six lacks, and the expence of about twenty lacks for a brigade, both paid annually out of the provinces, and consequently out of the sphere of our immediate circulation ; 3dly, The annual amount of our own, and the other nations investments, for which no value is received into the country : 4thly, The large exports of bullion to China, and the different presidencies during

the three last years: And lastly, the unavoidable misfortune and capital drain, the immense sums paid into the cash of foreign nations, for bills on their respective Companies. I say, the aggregate of these several exports must appear inevitably and immediately ruinous to the most flourishing state, much less be deemed tolerable to a declining and exhausted country!" [1]

In the last year of Clive's administration a new gold currency was established, to obviate the scarcity of money due to the large annual exportation of bullion. In order to bring gold to the mint, a favourable rate of exchange between the new gold mohur and the silver coin was fixed on the former. This had the effect of bringing more gold to the mint, but increased the evil by causing more silver to be withdrawn from circulation. "A country so exhausted of its coin, and harassed by three revolutions rapidly succeeding each other, was rather an object that stood in need of every kind of refreshment and recruit than one which could subsist under new evacuations." [2]

At this time a disastrous change was made in the mercantile system, which did not lead either to refreshment or recruit. Under the old system "the trade with India was carried on upon the common principles of commerce—namely, by sending out such commodities as found a demand in the India market, and, where that demand was not adequate to the reciprocal call of the European market for Indian goods, by a large annual exportation of treasure, chiefly in silver." [3] The other European companies trading to India also traded by a large export of bullion. "This influx of money, poured into India by an emulation of all the commercial nations of Europe, encouraged industry and promoted cultivation in a high degree, notwithstanding the frequent wars with which that country was harassed, and the vices which existed in its internal government." [4] About the year 1765 the East India Company ceased to export bullion regularly to India, and it was soon exported from England in much smaller quantities than by any other nation.

[1] Fort William, September 26, 1768. Verelst, Appendix, pp. 111–12.
[2] Ninth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of India—June 25, 1783. Burke, Vol. VIII., p. 46.
[3] Burke, Vol. VIII., p. 42. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

In 1766, soon after Clive left Bengal, a large portion of the surplus public revenue was employed in the purchase of goods for exportation to England. This was called "the Investment." The drain of the products of the country, taken away without any return or payment to replenish the trading capital employed by their production, soon produced its natural evil effects. But the main cause of the diminution in the revenue and the growing poverty of the masses was the vices which existed in its internal administration. This was mainly an administration of foreigners. "The officials were mostly adventurers from Persia; ignorant of the ways of the people and first principles of government; without sympathies for Hindus; brought up amidst the tyranny, corruption, and anarchy which for centuries had characterised Persian rule." [1]

The Court of Directors sent repeated and peremptory orders against any interference with the administration of the Nawab's government. The Bengal Government were enjoined to retain the primitive characters of merchants with the most scrupulous delicacy. "The consequences," Verelst wrote, "are too evidently exemplified in the decline of commerce and cultivation, the diminution of specie and the general distress of the poor." Verelst was an able man, and, as Burke said, the most honest of men, but he was not a strong man. During his rule official discipline became again relaxed, expenses of every department increased, owing to extravagance and corruption, and absorbed the diminishing revenues. Bills were drawn to a large amount on the Company, and the investments continued to diminish, alike in quantity and quality. The Court of Directors were filled with embarrassment and alarm. At this time, when the Ministry was extorting £400,000 per annum from the Company, the Directors had to face a diminishing revenue and an increasing debt. The dispatches from the East revealed a state of disorder and misconduct in the three presidencies which demanded immediate remedy. Vansittart was anxious to return to Bengal as Governor, with

[1] Wheeler's "Early Records of British India," p. 357

the authority of Governor-General, but Clive by his influence prevented the appointment being made. The Court of Directors then determined to send out a special Commission, composed of Vansittart, Luke Scrafton and Colonel Forde, "to superintend all the presidencies and settlements, with full power to correct all abuses, and to dismiss or suspend such servants as might appear to have been concerned in such proceedings." [1] They sailed in the frigate *Aurora*. After leaving the Cape nothing more was ever heard of the vessel or any on board. On December 22 Clive wrote as follows:

"The severe blow given the old Directors last year, by the admission of Sulivan and so many of his party, has been the occasion of all that has happened; and we were obliged to compound with Vansittart for his being Supervisor jointly with Scrafton and Forde, to prevent his going out Governor to Bengal, or Governor-General, which was the thing aimed at. Mr. Vansittart received all the support which Ministry, the Court, and Princess Dowager could give, and was very near succeeding in his ambitious designs."

In January, 1770, Verelst resigned the Government of Bengal, and was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, who was also an old servant of the Company. Clive described him as a gentleman with a good capacity and solid judgment, of a generous and disinterested way of thinking. But he had not, as Clive remarked, "sufficient confidence in himself," and that is a fatal defect in one who governs an Oriental province. Cartier, however, had, during his administration, a great and grievous calamity to face from the commencement of his rule. In December, 1768, and August, 1769, the rice crops in Bengal were scanty, and the absence of the heavy periodical rains in October produced an almost total failure of the harvest. The absence of rain led to intense heat, and the inferior crops of grain and pulse, ordinarily reaped between February and April, were dried to powder, and a great famine ravaged Lower Bengal and Behar. "Large numbers of people, after vainly endeavouring to obtain subsistence from leaves and the bark of trees, perished miserably of starvation, and the fields and highways were strewn with dead bodies. We read of 'many

[1] Auber, Vol. I., p. 272.

hundreds of villages entirely depopulated,' and it was officially computed at the time that about one-third of the population, or ten millions of people, perished. In many cases the starving objects sustained themselves with the flesh of forbidden and abhorred animals, and there were instances in which the child fed on its dead parents or the mother on her child." [1] The Bengal Government and the Nizamut contributed large sums towards saving people from starvation. The feeling of the sacredness of charity is intensely strong in the Oriental, and large sums were subscribed by private individuals of all ranks and creeds. Owing to the famine, trade was completely disordered, the revenues decreased to a vast extent, and, instead of a surplus being remitted home, heavier bills had to be drawn on the Court of Directors. At this time the Court of Proprietors declared a dividend of 12½ per cent. The outlook, at home and aboard, caused Clive sorrow and anxiety. On February 15, 1770, he wrote:

"I will not trouble you with the situation of affairs in England. Anarchy and confusion seem to have pervaded every part of the British empire. In vain can we expect our affairs shall flourish abroad, when all is going to ruin at home. The Directors are so divided among themselves, and so much taken up in struggling for power at every general election, that they have quite lost sight of the Company's interest, which is daily sacrificed to their own views, and the views of particular Proprietors, to answer their purposes.

"With regard to myself, having struggled long enough against the tide to very little purpose, I am determined the approaching election shall put an end to my activity, in support of any set of men whatever. It is beyond my power to do the Company any farther service; and the disposition to ease and retirement gains ground upon me daily."

Towards the close of the same year Clive's desire to retire from public affairs was strengthened by the death of his intimate friend, George Grenville. On November 14, 1770, Wedderburn sent him the sad tidings. "The misfortune we dreaded has at last happened," he wrote:

"I could not prevail upon myself to send you the first account of it, knowing from my own experience how much you would feel upon

[1] "The Famine in India," by G. W. Forrest, p 3.

such an occasion. I had it immediately in my view for three days together, and yet I was shocked with the event that I had expected."

Four days after, Clive wrote thus to him from Bath:

"Mr. Grenville's death, though long expected, could not but affect me very severely. Gratitude first bound me to him: a more intimate connection afterwards gave an opportunity of admiring his abilities, and respecting his worth and integrity. The dissolution of our valuable friend has shipwrecked all our hopes for the present; and my indisposition hath not only made me indifferent [to the world of politics [1]], but to the world in general. What effect returning health may have, I cannot answer for; but if I can judge for myself in my present situation, I wish to support that independency which will be approved of by my friends in particular, and by the public in general. My sentiments are the same as yours, with regard to our conduct in the present times."

After the death of Grenville, Clive took less interest in home politics, and refused to attach himself to any party. He had discovered that party interests do not always coincide with Imperial interests. Lord North, who had succeeded the Duke of Grafton as Prime Minister, was a personal acquaintance of Clive's, and friendly letters had passed between them. He was most anxious to secure the support of Clive. Wedderburn became, after Grenville's death, North's Solicitor-General, and he wrote thus to Clive on May 9, 1771:

"Lord Rochford [2] a few days ago, desired that I would ask your Lordship if you would allow him to talk over Indian affairs with you. He says that it is his duty to bestow more attention than has hitherto been employed upon an object of the utmost consequence to the nation, and that he wishes to improve or to form his ideas from your conversation."

A few days later Clive, in his reply, gave vent to his feeling:

"I am happy to find Lord Rochford thinks so justly of the importance of our possessions in the East Indies; and yet in these times of [discord] and confusion, much, I fear, cannot be expected from his laudable endeavours to benefit the public by securing and improving our acquisitions in those parts. When I returned to England in the year 1767, my thoughts were much taken up with the flattering prospect of assisting Government to complete a work which I

[1] Defect in the MS. [2] Then one of the Secretaries of State.

had only begun; and I intimated as much to the King in a private audience which I was honoured with soon after my arrival; but a tedious and severe illness prevented me from carrying my ideas into execution, and afforded me leisure for reflection. The result was, that I soon perceived that unless a settled administration, possessed of both resolution and power adequate to the object, undertook thoroughly to engage Parliament in the business, no material advantage could be obtained for the nation by any light I could give. After my recovery, I had many conversations with Mr. Grenville upon the subject, who, to the last, was of the same way of thinking. Mr. Strachey has, with the materials I have furnished him, undertaken that task; but I think he cannot complete the work in less than eighteen months. You are acquainted with my design of going to the Spa, and spending the next winter in Italy. I can only be in London a few days at the latter end of July. If that time should be convenient to Lord Rochford, and he will signify his pleasure by a few lines, I shall be ready to pay my respects to his Lordship, and give him all the verbal information in my power."

Clive was in London at the latter end of July, but no record of any interview with Lord Rochford can be found. A most important subject at that time engaged his mind. As many months had passed and no news of the *Aurora* had been heard, the question of sending fresh supervisors was raised. Clive's opinion was desired.

"My advice was," he wrote to Warren Hastings, "that, as the prosperity of the Company was now become a matter of very serious national concern, it behoved them to show that, in appointments of this nature, they were guided, not by the view of particular friends, but merely by that zeal which the duty of their station demanded, for preserving and rendering permanent our possessions in India; and that, therefore, they should turn their thoughts towards men who stood high in public character and reputation."

He proposed Wedderburn, who had the ability but not the moral stamina requisite for the trust, Mr. Cornwall, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, and Sir Jeffrey Amherst, an energetic and resolute soldier, who had considerable experience as a ruler. To these Clive suggested that Warren Hastings, as Governor, and one of the Council, should be added, and that these five should be invested with all the powers civil and military. Amherst declined.

"As to the two former," Clive said, "they might be prevailed upon; but the Directors do not seem ready to embrace any great comprehensive plan of supervisorship, so as to make it an object for men of such consequence. My last proposition was, that the Company should revert to the plan of my Government, viz. that a Committee of five should be appointed out of the best and ablest men in Bengal, of whom the Governor should be the head; and this, I imagine, will be adopted." [1]

Two years after Warren Hastings returned to England he was summoned to give evidence before the committee which had been appointed to inquire into the state of the Company's affairs, and the clear and strong view he expressed on them won for him both the regard and gratitude of his old masters. He had spent and lost the scanty fortune which he had brought home, and was desirous of returning to India. His application to be restored to the service of the Company was favourably received, and in 1768 the Court of Directors announced to the Madras Government the appointment of Hastings to be second in Council, in these handsome terms:

"Mr. Warren Hastings, a gentleman who has served us many years upon the Bengal establishment with great ability and unblemished character, offering himself to be employed again in our service, we have, from a consideration of his just merits, and general knowledge of the Company's affairs, been induced to appoint him one of the Members of our Council at your presidency and to station him next below Mr. Du Pré." [2]

At Madras Hastings displayed such zeal and ability that the Court of Directors resolved, in April, 1771, to appoint him second Member of Council at Calcutta, with succession as President and Governor of Bengal, which at that time was the highest post in the service of the Company. In the letter of congratulation, dated August 1, 1771, which Clive sent Hastings, his former young subordinate, he observed:

"The situation of affairs requires that you should be very circumspect and active. . . . Be impartial and just to the public, regardless of the interest of individuals, where the honour of the nation and the real advantage of the Company are at stake, and

[1] Malcolm, Vol. III., p. 257.
[2] Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India, edited by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E. Vol. I., p. 5.

resolute in carrying into execution your determination, which I hope will at all times be rather founded upon your own opinion than that of others. With regard to political measures, they are to be taken according to the occasion. When danger arises every precaution must be made use of, but at the same time you must be prepared to meet and encounter it. This you must do with cheerfulness and confidence, never entertaining a thought of miscarrying till the misfortune actually happens, and even then you are not to despair, but be constantly contriving and carrying into execution schemes for retrieving affairs, always flattering yourself with an opinion that time and perseverance will get the better of everything. From the little knowledge I have of you, I am convinced that you have not only abilities and personal resolution but integrity and moderation with regard to riches; but I thought I discovered in you a diffidence in your own judgment and too great an easiness of disposition, which may subject you insensibly to be *led* where you ought to *guide*. Another evil which may arise from it is, that you may pay too great an attention to the reports of the natives, and be inclined to look upon things in the worst instead of the best light. A proper confidence in yourself and never-failing hope of success will be a bar to this and every other ill that your situation is liable to; and, as I am sure that you are not wanting in abilities for the great office of governor, I must add that an opportunity is now given you of making yourself one of the most distinguished characters of this country."

Clive the soldier, stern and imperious, blunt and outspoken, did not perceive that the calm judgment and courtly manner of the young diplomat cloaked an inflexible will. Hastings possessed more patience, equanimity, and command of temper than Clive. Clive had the qualities for laying the broad foundation, Hastings the genius for erecting the Imperial fabric.

In October, 1771, another attempt was made by Lord North to secure the allegiance of Clive. On the 21st Wedderburn wrote to Clive that he had seen Lord North that morning, and

"as soon as the business which brought me to him was finished, he began upon the subject of the East Indies; to which, he said, the attention of Administration was now very seriously turned. He seemed to feel strongly the necessity of taking some steps immediately for the preservation of so important an object, and the difficulty of forming any proper measure for that purpose. From the tenor of the conversation it appeared to me that no idea had as yet presented itself that could be the foundation of any plan; and he expressed the strongest wish to receive that instruction upon the

subject which your Lordship alone can give him. I took it upon me to say that your Lordship had never given any Administration reason to think that you would decline doing that service to the public, but that you had never been called upon; nor had it ever appeared to be an object of real attention to Government. He seemed very desirous that I should acquaint you how much it was now become the object of their most earnest attention, and that it would give him the utmost satisfaction to be able to form his own ideas upon yours. I did not undertake the commission with so much frankness as I should have done, if it had been only to go from Downing Street to Berkeley Square; and this evening I received the enclosed letter, which I was desired to convey to your Lordship."

The following is Lord North's letter:

DOWNING STREET.
Oct: 29.

MY LORD,—The Solicitor General having inform'd me, that it is his intention to write to your Lordship by this post, I have desired him to inclose this note to you; The very intricate & dangerous situation of our possessions in India will, probably, make it necessary to bring them under the consideration of Parliament during the next Session. The Question is in itself most arduous, & I confess, that I stand in need of much information upon this subject; your Lordship, from your extensive knowledge of it, can be of great service to me, & I have no doubt, but that your public spirit will incline you to give me every assistance in your power; I shall be much obliged to you, if you will do me the honour of calling upon me, when you return from Bath; your time shall be mine; as I shall be at home every morning & evening, except on Saturdays & Sundays, you may depend upon finding me whenever it is convenient to you to honour me with your company. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,
Your most faithful
humble servant
NORTH.[1]

Wedderburn proceeded to inform Clive that from Lord North's he went to Lord Rochford:

"who took up the same subject, and, as his manner is, with more eagerness than the other. He desired me to tell your Lordship, that he had employed himself in forming a *Précis* of the Indian affairs, which he wished to communicate to you; that he was convinced you thought alike with him as to the evils that now subsist, and that you knew, much better than he could, what were the proper remedies for them."

[1] Powis MSS.

At the close of the letter Wedderburn observed:

"It might seem odd if I omitted to say to your Lordship, upon the former part of my letter, that I am very much persuaded, both the ministers I have seen, and particularly the last, will pursue any plan you point out. I have had other conversations with him formerly, upon the general state of Indian affairs, and his ideas seem to coincide very much with yours."

On November 9 Lord North wrote thus to Clive:

DOWNING STREET.
*Nov*r 9.

MY LORD,—When I had the honour of seeing your Lordship at Bushy Park, our conversation was so much engrossed by the important question of the instructions to the Govr Genl & Council of Bengal, which is likely to come on soon before the Court of Proprietors, that I forgot to mention another question comparatively of smaller importance, which will be ballotted for tomorrow. I mean, the contest between Mr Manship & Mr Cuming; I promised the former some time ago to speak to some of my friends in his favour. I have just learnt that he apprehends that the notion of his having the support of Administration will have prejudiced some of the Proprietors against him, which makes it more incumbent upon me to procure him all the assistance I can. This must be my excuse for troubling your Lordship at all, &, especially, for troubling you so late upon this matter, but, if I do not come too late, I shall think myself obliged to your Lordship, & such of your friends as can attend upon so short a notice, for any support which you may afford to Mr Manship tomorrow. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most faithful humble servant,
NORTH.[1]

Five days after, Clive received the following from Wedderburn:

"I delivered your Lordship's letter to L. N., who seemed to be extremely happy by the manner in which you received his application. From the inquiries which he made about your engagements in the country, I imagine he is very desirous of seeing you in town. But that matter rests more properly with him, and I only said I was very sure you would be very ill pleased to be brought up to no purpose. The other Lord is in the country this week, but returns on Monday next. I should conjecture that his ideas are more forward upon the affairs of the East than your correspondent's. I am told

[1] Powis MSS.

the Directors have compromised the affair of the tea-duties with the Treasury; but they have not done me the honour to acquaint me upon what terms, though in the outset of the business, I had some share in bringing about an agreement for the Company. There seems to be a good deal of ill-humour at present against the Directors, which they may feel the effects of, if the alarm at the present state of affairs in India is not quieted soon."

On November 17 Lord North wrote to Clive:

Downing Street.
*Nov*r 17. 1771.

My Lord,—Your ready & most obliging compliance with my request demands my sincerest thanks: Your Lordship will do me the justice to believe, that I should not have troubled you upon a slight & trifling occasion; The very great importance of the matter upon which I am desirous of consulting you, the necessity that there is of taking it speedily under consideration, &, I will freely confess, the very imperfect knowledge I have as yet obtain'd of it, will sufficiently plead my excuse for this, I am afraid, rather unreasonable interruption: I should be loth to shorten the time your Lordship has destined to a visit into Shropshire, & therefore, will not press for the honour of seeing you, before it suits your own convenience; Give me leave, however, to add, that I feel a considerable degree of impatience till that moment comes. I am now settled in Town for the winter, & your Lordship may depend upon finding me at home any morning or evening upon giving me eight & forty hours notice; I am seriously bent upon this business, & shall certainly prefer no other to it; The sooner your Lordship can favour me with your company, the greater obligation will it be to,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
most faithful humble servant
North.[1]

Wedderburn, who owed his seat to Clive, and was his staunchest supporter, could hardly expect that Sulivan and his party—Clive's most bitter foes in the India House—would confide in him. Sulivan had been for years a personal friend of North's, and his chief adviser on Indian affairs, and he naturally resented and feared Clive's joining the North party and exercising an influence over the Prime Minister. Sulivan, as Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, knew that the state of the Company's affairs must soon demand the attention

[1] Powis MSS.

of Parliament, and he determined to strike a blow which would cripple the action of the Government and destroy the influence of Clive in the House. The plan of attack was well laid and the time well chosen. The newspapers were crowded with virulent false attacks upon Clive, and innumerable scurrilous pamphlets circulated monstrous tales of his immorality, cruelty, and rapacity. Mr. Johnstone and all the officials whom he had dismissed or suspended, all the officers who had taken part in the mutiny, all the adventurers whom he had prevented from plundering the natives, supplied the material for the attacks and the money to employ the assassins. The accounts of the sufferings caused by the famine, which now came home, were reproduced after being highly coloured. Horace Walpole has left us a picture of the public mind:

"We have another scene coming to light, of a black dye indeed. The groans of India have mounted to heaven, where *the heaven-born* General Lord Clive will certainly be disavowed. Oh, my dear Sir, we have outdone the Spaniards in Peru! They were at least butchers on a religious principle, however diabolical their zeal. We have murdered, deposed, plundered, usurped—nay, what think you of the famine in Bengal, in which three millions perished, being caused by a monopoly of the provisions, by the servants of the East India Company? All this is come out, is coming out—unless the gold that inspired these horrors can quash them. Voltaire says, learning, arts, and philosophy have softened the manners of mankind: when tigers can read they may possibly grow tame—but man!" [1]

Walpole gave expression to the general rumour that the famine was caused by the Company's servants engrossing all the rice of the country; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it. The case was grossly exaggerated. Some of the Company's agents were found to have traded in rice in defiance of an order of Council issued in September, 1769, strictly forbidding all trade in grain. The wildest stories regarding the monopoly of rice were almost universally believed, and Englishmen shuddered at the crimes of their countrymen, who had made enormous fortunes by the starvation of millions of their fellow-

[1] Toynbee's "Walpole," Vol. VIII., p. 153.

creatures. The love of justice and pity for the afflicted, two predominating features which mark and distinguish the character of Englishmen, were aroused, and they turned their thoughts seriously to India, with a passionate determination that the Government of the Company should be reformed.

On January 7, 1772, the Secretary of the Company sent the following letter to Clive:

My Lord,—The Court of Directors of the East India Company having lately received several Papers, containing Charges respecting the Management of the Company's Affairs in Bengal, wherein your Lordship is made a Party, I am commanded to send to you the enclosed Copies thereof, and at the same time to acquaint your Lordship, that if you have any Observations to make thereon, the Court of Directors will be glad to receive them as expeditiously as may be convenient to your Lordship.

I am with great Respect
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most Obedient
and most humble Servant

East India House, P. Michell.
the 7th January 1772. *Secry* [1]

On January 12 Clive sent the following answer:

To the Court of Directors

Gentlemen,—I have received a Letter from Your Secretary, enclosing Copies of several Papers, which he informs me were lately received by You, containing Charges respecting the Management of the Company's Affairs in Bengal, wherein I am made a Party; and at the same time acquainting me that if I have any Observations to make thereon, You will be glad to receive them as expeditiously as may be convenient to me.

You have not been pleased to inform me from whom You received those Papers, to what End they were laid before You, what Resolution You have come to concerning them, nor for what Purpose You expect my Observations upon them.

I shall however observe to You, that where the whole of my Conduct is stated upon the public Records of the Company you may find a sufficient Confutation of the Charges which You have transmitted to me, and I cannot but suppose that if any Part of my Conduct had been injurious to the Service, contradictory to my Engagements with the Company, or even mysterious to You, Four Years & an half since my Arrival in England would not have elapsed before Your Duty would have impelled You to call me to Account.[2]

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

Parliament met on January 21, 1772, and in the cautiously-worded Speech from the Throne an evident allusion was made to the affairs of the Company, though they were not mentioned. The seconder of the motion for the Address in the House of Commons, however, "expatiated upon that subject, and hinted that new laws and regulations were necessary to be made for the use of the company; that at present they had not sufficient powers in their hands to controul their servants, who made enormous fortunes at the expence of their masters, and were guilty of such exorbitances in other respects, as might hazard the total loss of their valuable possessions in that part of the world." [1] Lord North had, however, no intention of entering for the present into that dangerous and complex matter—reform of the constitution of the Company and the Government of India. He was still anxious to obtain the benefit of Clive's experience and his support with regard to fresh regulations that might have to be framed. On January 30 "Lord North presents his Compliments to L^d^ Clive and will be glad to have the Honour of seeing him to morrow Morning at Eleven o'Clock, in Downing Street." [2]

On February 6 the Court of Directors made an attempt to conciliate and circumvent Clive. The Chairman sent him the following:

"M^r^ Purling presents his Compliments to Lord Clive & forwards him a Sketch of an Act for better managing East India Affairs, & the Duly administring of Justice; & shall be very glad of receiving his Lordship's Observations thereupon.

"East India House
6^th^ *Feb^y^* 1772." [3]

Clive at once sent a brief and dignified answer:

"Lord Clive presents his Comp^ts^ to M^r^ Purling has received the favor of his Note with the Sketch of an Act for the better managing E. India Affairs & is sorry that he cannot with propriety, in his present Situation with the Court of Directors, confer with him as Chairman of that Direction, but is ready to give his private Opinion to

[1] "Annual Register for the Year 1772," pp. 84–5.
[2] Powis MSS. [3] *Ibid.*

Mr Purling as a Friend and Individual, reserving a public Declaration of his Sentiments till the Bill comes before Parliament." [1]

The following day Mr. Purling wrote thus to him:

My Lord,—I have had the honor of receiving your Lordship's note, and am sorry any thing should have happened to cause a Coolness between your Lordship & the Court of Directors, so as to prevent your Confering with their Chairman on the Affairs of the Company; But am happy to find you have no objection to receive him as a Friend & Individual. I shall therefore be glad If you will give me an opportunity of waiting on your Lordship, when you are at leizure. I am, My Lord,

Your Lordship's Faithfull
Friend & Servant
J. Purling.

East India House
7 *Feb*^{y} 1772.[2]

On March 30 Mr. Sulivan, who, besides being the Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, was a member of the House of Commons, brought forward a motion to bring in a Bill "For the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in Bengal." Sulivan urged in support of the motion that the evil state of affairs in India was owing principally to the little power the Court of Directors had to punish their servants either for disobedience to their orders or for malpractices in their several departments. Sulivan did not mention Clive by name, but, in the debates which followed, much altercation arose and many charges were brought against Clive. That these charges should be treacherously prompted by the governing body of the Company, whose possessions he had saved from destruction, the Company who had so often praised his noble deeds, pierced deeply his proud heart. Clive was not a man to submit patiently to attacks. He replied to his assailants in a speech which Lord Chatham, who was present during the debate, declared was "one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in the House of Commons." The story of his second Government, and of the desperate lawlessness with which

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

he had to contend, is told with every clearness of language and every force of argument. After informing the House that he wished to lay his case before them, but to "speak likewise to my country in general, upon whom I put myself, not only without reluctance, but with alacrity," he proceeded to say:

"It is well known that I was called upon, in the year 1764, by a General Court, to undertake the management of the Company's affairs in Bengal when they were in a very critical and dangerous situation. It is as well known that my circumstances were independent and affluent. Happy in the sense of my past conduct and services, happy in my family, happy in my connections, happy in everything but my health, which I lost in the Company's service, never to be regained. This situation, this happiness, I relinquished at the call of the Company, to go to a far-distant, unhealthy climate, to undertake the envious task of reformation. My enemies will suppose that I was actuated by mercenary motives. But this House and my country at large will, I hope, think more liberally. They will conceive that I undertook this expedition from a principle of gratitude, from a point of honour, and from a desire of doing essential service to that Company under whose auspices I had acquired my fortune and my fame."

He then observed that upon his arrival in Bengal he found the powers given were so loosely and jesuitically worded that they were immediately contested by the Council. "I was determined, however," he added, "to put the most extensive construction upon them, because I was determined to do my duty to my country." In the discharge of that duty,

"Three paths were before me. One was strewed with abundance of fair advantages. I might have put myself at the head of the Government as I found it. I might have encouraged the resolution which the gentlemen had taken, not to execute the new covenants which prohibited the receipt of presents; and although I had executed the covenants myself, I might have contrived to return to England with an immense fortune infamously added to the one before honourably obtained. Such an increase of wealth might have added to my peace of mind; because all men of honour and sentiment would have justly condemned me.

"Finding my powers thus disputed, I might in despair have given up the commonwealth and have left Bengal without making an effort to save it. Such conduct would have been deemed the effect of folly and cowardice.

"The third path was intricate. Dangers and difficulties were on

every side. But I resolved to pursue it. In short, I was determined to do my duty to the public although I should incur the odium of the whole settlement. The welfare of the Company required a vigorous exertion, and I took the resolution of cleansing the Augean stable."

He then, with some explosion of temper, exclaimed:

"It was that conduct which has occasioned the public papers to teem with scurrility and abuse against me, ever since my return to England. It was that conduct which occasioned these charges. But it was that conduct which enables me now, when the day of judgment is come, to look my judges in the face. It was that conduct which enables me now to lay my hand upon my heart and most solemnly to declare to this House, to the gallery and to the whole world at large, that I never, in a single instance, lost sight of what I thought the honour and true interest of my country and the Company; that I was never guilty of any acts of violence or oppression, unless the bringing offenders to justice can be deemed so; that, as to extortion, such an idea never entered into my mind; that I did not suffer those under me to commit any acts of violence, oppression or extortion; that my influence was never employed for the advantage of any man, contrary to the strictest principles of honour and justice; and that, so far from reaping any benefit myself from the expedition, I returned to England many thousand pounds out of pocket—a fact of which this House will presently be convinced."

After referring to the manner in which the charges had been conveyed to him, he proceeded to answer them in detail. They were four in number. To the first charge, that he had created a monopoly of cotton, he replied:

"Trade was not my profession. My line has been military and political. I owe all I have in the world to my having been at the head of an army; and as to cotton—I know no more about it than the Pope of Rome."

To the second charge, that of creating a monopoly of diamonds, he observed that

"By the acquisition of the Diwani, and the successful endeavours of the Select Committee, the Company's treasury was so rich that we could not have been justified in drawing bills upon the Company. It was necessary I should, in some mode, remit the amount of my Jagir. For this purpose, and for this only, I sent an agent into a distant and independent country to make purchases of diamonds. Those diamonds were not sent home clandestinely; I caused them to be registered; I paid the duties upon them, and these remittances,

upon the whole, turn out three per cent. worse than bills of exchange upon the Company. This is all I know of a monopoly of diamonds."

As to the third charge—frauds in the exchange and in the gold coinage—he remarked: "This is a subject very much out of my sphere. I am totally unacquainted with the proportions of alloy and the mixture of metals. All I can speak to is the principle upon which we formed the plan of a gold coinage." The object of the Select Committee was, he remarked, by establishing a gold coinage, to obviate the evils resulting from the drain of silver to China and other places. The Select Committee had been guided by the advice of an expert—a very able and a very honest man. "With regard to myself, I shall only assert that I did not receive a farthing advantage from it, and that I never sent a single rupee or gold mohur to be coined in my life."

"The fourth charge," Clive remarked, "has this extraordinary title '& monopoly of salt, betel nut and tobacco, and other commodities,' which occasioned the late famine." Then, with bitterness, he observed:

"How a monopoly of salt, betel nut, and tobacco in the years 1765 and 1766 could occasion a want of rain and scarcity of rice in the year 1770, is past my comprehension. I confess I cannot answer that part of this article. And as to other commodities, as they have not been specified I cannot say anything to them."

Clive then discussed the question of the inland trade, and showed that his action in regard to it had been in accordance with the orders of the Court. He next discussed at considerable length the salt tax and the society of trade, and he wound up by saying: "In short, the Select Committee established their plan upon experience and a thorough knowledge of the Company's interest, and the conduct of the Court of Directors in abolishing it was founded upon obstinacy and ignorance."

He showed by official returns that since the acceptance of the Diwani the gross revenues had not decreased considerably till the year of the famine, but that the civil and military expenses had been gradually increasing ever since he left

Bengal. "And here lies the danger," he said. "The evil is not so much in the revenues falling short as the expenses increasing. The best means of raising the revenues is to reduce the civil and military charges." And it still remains the danger. An ambitious Viceroy is apt to forget that the history of Indian finance, ever since the days of Clive, is the history of surpluses turned suddenly into deficits.

Clive, agitated by the slanderous attacks made on him, seized the opportunity for reproaches he could retort and insults he could avenge. Four causes, he told the House, had brought the Company to the brink of bankruptcy and ruin: "A relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of Administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of General Courts, in which I include contested elections."

After observing that Verelst had ruled with too lenient a hand, he denounced, without fear and hesitation, His Majesty's Government.

"The Company," he said, "had acquired an empire more extensive than any kingdom in Europe, France and Russia excepted. They had acquired a revenue of four millions sterling, and a trade in proportion. It was natural to suppose that such an object would have merited the most serious attention of Administration; that in concert with the Court of Directors they would have considered the nature of the Company's charter, and have adopted a plan adequate to such possessions. Did they take it into consideration? No, they did not. They treated it rather as a South Sea bubble than as anything solid and substantial; they thought of nothing but the present time, regardless of the future. They said, let us get what we can to-day, let to-morrow take care for itself; they thought of nothing but the immediate division of the loaves and fishes; nay, so anxious were they to lay their hands upon some immediate advantage that they actually went so far as to influence a parcel of temporary Proprietors to bully the Directors into their terms. It was their duty, Sir, to have called upon the Directors for a plan; and if a plan, in consequence, had not been laid before them, it would then have become their duty, with the aid and assistance of Parliament, to have formed one themselves. If Administration had done their duty, we should not now have heard a speech from the throne, intimating the necessity of parliamentary interposition to save our possessions in India from impending ruin."

He then turned to "the misconduct on the part of the Court of Directors," and said that he saw, instead of supporting the Select Committee, who had restored tranquillity to Bengal, who had restored a government of anarchy and confusion to good order, they had acted on very different principles.

"They dropped the prosecutions against those gentlemen in Bengal whose conduct the Committee had censured and fully represented. Thus they gave a stab to their own vitals. From that instant they destroyed their own power abroad, and erased from the minds of their servants in India every wholesome regulation which the Committee had established. The servants abroad were in anxious suspense to learn whether they were punishable or not for misconduct. The lenity or weakness of the Court of Directors removed their doubts. From that instant all covenants were forgotten, or only looked upon as so many sheets of blank paper; and from that instant began that relaxation of government so much now complained of, and so much still to be dreaded."

With regard to General Courts, at which the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors sat together and the latter exercised the chief power, Clive stated that he believed he need not dwell long on the consequences of them.

"Their violent proceedings have been subversive of the authority of the Court of Directors. The agents abroad have known this; they have therefore never scrupled to set the orders of the Court of Directors at defiance when it was their interest to disobey them, and they have escaped punishment by means of the over-awing interests of individuals at General Courts. Thus have General Courts co-operated with the Court of Directors in the mischiefs that have arisen in Bengal; whilst annual contested elections have, in a manner, deprived the Directors of the power of establishing any authority over their servants. The first half of the year is employed in freeing themselves from the obligations contracted by their last elections; and the second half is wasted in incurring new obligations, and securing their election for the next year, by daily sacrifices of some interest of the Company."

At the close of his attack on the Ministry and the governing bodies of the Company, Clive informed the House that it was not his intention at present to trouble them with the remedies for these evils. "I rather choose to defer them till the Bill comes into the House."

Governor Johnstone—a brother of the Johnstone, Clive's

most bitter foe in the Bengal Council—replied, and, in a speech far too violent to be convincing, declared that Clive was the root of all the existing evils. The motion for the introduction of the Bill was carried without a division.

In the account of his second administration, Clive showed considerable talent in rendering clear what appeared obscure, and simple what seemed technical. The House followed him with interest and sympathy. In the denunciations there was much of eloquence and of vigour and of truth, but there was want of tact, and it lost Clive the support of the House.

On April 13, 1772, the Bill was laid on the table of the House, but it never took its place on the Statute Book. After the second reading, Colonel Burgoyne, a member, though in the King's service, not connected with the Ministry, whether with or without their consent,[1] moved for the appointment of a Select Committee "to inquire into the nature, state and condition of the East India Company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies." He represented, in his speech introducing the motion, the inconsistency of giving a vote on the Bill without first examining the state of the country to which it referred. Passing beyond the boundary of truth, he professed perfect impartiality and independence of all parties, and disavowed any hostility to the Company or its servants. "He disclaimed all wish to throw the Company's affairs into the hands of the Crown; but argued that facts sufficiently notorious had occurred to justify and demand an inquiry into the rights of the Company, and the mode in which they had been exercised, especially as the fate of fifteen millions of people was involved in the question."

This motion gave birth to a long and eager debate. Edmund Burke protested warmly against the proposed inquiry, on the ground that "the proceedings of a Select Committee being private, there was little responsibility on its members; that such a Committee would virtually be really a Government

[1] "Annual Register for the Year 1773." Macaulay writes: "Burgoyne, chairman of the committee, a man of wit, fashion, and honour, an agreeable dramatic writer, an officer whose courage was never questioned, and whose skill was at that time highly esteemed, appeared as the accuser."—Essay on Lord Clive.

nomination; that no plan was yet before the House, and that, therefore, the inquiries of such a Committee must necessarily be vague and indefinite, such as the House could not limit or control." The motion was, however, carried without a division. Thirty-one members, including Clive and Henry Strachey, were elected by ballot members of the Committee, with directions, as the season was far spent, to sit during the summer.

When the Committee met, Burgoyne was chosen Chairman. Governor Johnstone at once addressed the Committee, and submitted to them a plan which showed a considerable amount of political craft. He proposed that inquiry should be made into the conduct of individuals who, in the civil or military service of the Company, had amassed great wealth in India, and that the period to be covered should date from the dethronement of Surajah Dowla. By proposing this far-back date he greatly extended the operation, and he brought Clive—the object of his own and his brother's mortal hate—within the scope of the inquiry. The proposal was accepted, and the profession that the Select Committee was a constitutional body created for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of Indian affairs, was soon dropped. It was transformed into an unlimited inquisition for destroying Clive. Every device of strategy was employed to show that the great acts of public service which he had rendered were actuated by mercenary motives. Numerous witnesses were produced and examined at inordinate length, and the accumulation of official material was stupendous. Clive, himself a member of the Committee, was summoned and examined and cross-examined, not only as to his acts but his motives. The charges placed in the forefront were the episode of Omichund and the presents received by him from Meer Jaffier. The calm courage and the vast energy which gave a character to his military campaigns and his civil government were again displayed. He answered with cool firmness, and he scorned to palliate or disguise any portion of his past conduct. With regard to the Omichund episode, he had not signed Admiral Watson's name, but he

considered he would have been justified in doing it by the conversation he had with the Admiral. He considered when the lives of persons were at stake it was a matter of justice and policy to deceive so great a villain. Under the same circumstances he would do the same thing again. He admitted the receipt of enormous sums from Meer Jaffier, but they were rewards for great services rendered, and, according to the then existing rules of the Company, he was not acting contrary to honour or duty in accepting them. At the close of a long cross-examination he exclaimed with passion:

"Am I not rather deserving of praise for the moderation which marked my proceedings? Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

The evidence of Clive, buried in the voluminous reports of the House of Commons, has long since been forgotten, but it remains the best defence of a man on whom final judgment has not been passed by posterity.

The first Report of the Select Committee reached Parliament on May 24, 1772. The bulky record of the proceedings, which fills many hundred pages, contains the evidence of numerous witnesses regarding the chief events from the capture of Calcutta by Surajah Dowla to the decisive victory of Buxar. The first witness was Charles Manningham, Esq., "Third in Council and Warehouse Keeper at Calcutta," and the last witness Colonel Munro, the victor of Buxar. The Appendix contains "copies of commissions and instruments from the Company to their servants," and other official documents of considerable historical worth. The Report was compiled in haste by the enemies of Clive in order to support the charges they intended to make against him in the House. The publication of the Report did not produce the result they anticipated. It inflamed the heat of popular passion against the wealthy Nawabs, but it also excited a general indignation

at the maladministration of the Company. The necessity for a drastic reform in the constitution of the Company and of the Government of Bengal became apparent. During the recess of Parliament that followed members studied and discussed Clive's evidence, and considerable sympathy was created in his favour by the vindictive conduct of the Select Committee.

On June 15, shortly after the close of the session, a grand installation of the Knights of the Bath took place, at which His Majesty was present, and Clive was one of the knights installed. Three months after, the Earl of Powis, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Salop, died. Lord Clive, who owned large estates in the county and took an active interest in its administration, was desirous of succeeding him in an ancient office of great dignity. He did not care directly to approach Lord North. Some of his friends advised him to seek an audience of the King and lay before him his claim to the office, but Clive rejected the suggestion. "I cannot be of your opinion," he wrote to Strachey from Walcot, September 20, 1772, "because I think that things are not yet ripe for an open rupture. Until my conduct in Parliament is decided upon, I do not desire the King and his Ministers to be my declared enemies." At the close of the letter he observed: "I expect W. here in a day or two; and if he brings me a favourable account, I shall lose no time in going to town and demanding a private audience, that I may explain myself fully to his Majesty. I will not receive the lieutenancy through the channel of a minister."

The day before that letter was written Lord North wrote the following generous letter to Wedderburn, which throws fresh light on the episode:

DILLINGTON *Sept:* 18.1772.

DEAR SIR,—I think myself much obliged to you for your suggestion concerning Lord Clive; An opportunity of manifesting my respect to his merit, & my earnest desire of being well with him is what I have long wish'd to find, though I have thought it right, at the same time, to be very careful of deceiving him by any engagement which I could not be morally sure of performing; His situa-

tion is so great, & so prosperous, that there are very few things indeed in the power of the Crown, which are worth his pursuit, I will promise him my best offices for the obtaining of it, & though I never chuse previously to answer for the success of any application, yet I venture to say, upon this occasion, that I do not at present foresee any material obstacle in his way. Considering the high rank Lord Gower holds in his Majesty's service, & the great estate he has in Shropshire, I imagine that you will agree with me that I ought to communicate my intention to him, before I take any step towards the appointment of a new Lord Lieutenant. I will write to him by this post, & will mention Lord Clive's name to his Majesty, as soon as I return to Town, which will be in a little more than a fortnight's time. I am, with the truest & most sincere attachment,

Dear Sir,
your most faithful
humble servant
North.[1]

After this letter, Clive could not nourish his wrath against the Ministry for not defending him against his foes, and he was strongly advised to "take the steps which the decorums of bestowing favours require; princes and ladies never are supposed to offer, but to grant, their favours, and expect to be asked what they have determined to give." On October 9 Clive wrote as follows to Strachey:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that I kissed the King's hand to-day, upon being appointed Lieutenant of the county of Salop. Afterwards I had a private audience, when I pushed the matter ably and well, to that degree as I could perceive the King was very much affected. The answer was favourable, but not determined; but I think it would be imprudent to treat more on the subject in a letter, and must therefore defer farther explanation until I have the pleasure of seeing you. The King talked upon Indian affairs for near half an hour; and I had an opportunity of mentioning your services and abilities."

Clive also had an interview with Lord North. On November 7, 1772, he wrote thus from Walcot to Strachey:

"Lord North, when I saw him, seemed industriously to avoid entering upon the subject of India affairs; and I do verily believe, from sheer indolence of temper, he wishes to leave every thing to Providence and the Directors; and that he means nothing more by the meeting of Parliament,[2] than to enable the Company to find

[1] Powis MSS.

[2] The Parliament had been summoned to meet before the Christmas holidays, for the dispatch of business.

money to discharge the demands that are at present made upon them. However, it behoves me to be prepared for every thing; for which purpose, you will perhaps say, I have been building castles in the air. Enclosed I send you a sketch of my ideas, which, I flatter myself, might be carried into execution by an able, steady, and upright minister. I don't wish to take you from your other business unnecessarily, but I wish you would take this sketch in hand, and methodise it. I would have you dwell fully and strongly upon the present situation of our affairs in India, and show, beyond a possibility of refutation, the approaching ruin of our possessions in the East, if vigorous measures be not speedily pursued. Your own experience and knowledge, added to my sentiments, expressed both in my speech and in the political paper laid before Lord North, will enable you to make a great progress in this matter; and upon my arrival in town what is wanting may be supplied. I will not patiently stand by, and see a great empire, acquired by great abilities, perseverance, and resolution, lost by ignorance and indolence. If Administration should think proper to see our affairs abroad in the same light as I do, *'tis well.* If not, I shall have done my duty. Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat, may with a vengeance be applied to the Court of Directors appointing M[onckton] and five of their own body Supervisors. Private letters from India give a most dreadful account of the luxury, dissipation, and extravagance of Bengal."

The sketch was converted into an able Memorandum on the government of India, and suggested sundry important alterations in the constitution, among them being a transfer of the territorial sovereignty to the Crown. The Memorandum, dated November 24, 1772, was presented to Lord North. Two days after, Parliament assembled. It had been specially summoned to take into consideration the affairs of the Company. A passage in the King's Speech ran thus:

"When I received information of the difficulties in which the Company appears to be involved, I determined to give you an early opportunity of informing yourselves fully of the true state of their affairs, and of making such provisions for the common benefit and security of all the various interests concerned, as you shall find best adapted to the exigencies of the case." [1]

The mover and seconder of the Address in the House of Commons spoke warmly on the enormous transgressions of the Company, and described their affairs as being in the most

[1] "Annual Register for the Year 1773," p. 69.

ruinous and almost irretrievable condition. Lord North adopted a more conciliatory tone, but his short, shrewd speech hinted at a more sweeping measure. "The complicated union of the Company's sovereign and political powers with their commercial affairs," he said, "had been attended with unforeseen consequences, which had involved them in some considerable difficulties, and had put the Court of Directors under a necessity of applying to Government for relief and assistance." It appeared, however, to him, from the clearest estimate he could make, "that however closely pressed they might be by present exigencies, and embarrassed in money matters, they were, nevertheless, in point of internal strength and vigour, in full health." [1] He then made a motion that for the better taking into consideration the affairs of the Company a Committee of Secrecy, consisting of thirteen persons to be chosen by ballot, should be appointed for that purpose. The motion was opposed mainly on the ground that the idea of a Secret Committee was unconstitutional, and that it was only allowable when criminal charges were made. It was, however, carried without a division, and two days after a Committee of thirteen was appointed by ballot. The Select Committee was revived the succeeding day.

The Secret Committee was directed to take into particular consideration the measure of sending out a fresh body of supervisors to India. During the recess, in order to forestall a Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the Company, the Court of Directors had determined to send to India a fresh commission of supervisors, and had appointed six supervisors "with full powers for the regulation of their affairs." But the Ministry were not so easily baffled. The Secret Committee was directed to take into particular consideration this measure. On December 7 the Secret Committee presented a report stating "that a Bill should be brought in to restrain them for a limited time, from sending out any such commission of supervisors." "This proposition," says the Annual Register, probably written by Burke, "occasioned one of

[1] "Annual Register for the Year 1773," p. 69.

the warmest debates that had been known for some time." Lord North said:

"It is the wish of Parliament, and particularly of Administration, to make the East India Company a great and glorious Company, and settle it upon a permanent foundation. They are going into an expensive commission at a time when they are considerably in arrears to government at an expense, Sir, of £120,000. Surely, Sir, it is the duty of Parliament to preserve them from ruin. I am sure no hostile intentions are conceived against that Company, but the Committee appointed by yourselves have judged it expedient a restraint should be laid, and, as no restraint can possibly be laid but by an Act of Parliament, a Bill is brought in for that purpose." [1]

Burke, in opposing the Bill, observed: "I rise up to thank the noble Lord in office for his extreme bounty in assuring us that no hostile intentions are designed against the East India Company, and that he wishes to make it a great and glorious Company (for those are his pompous expressions), and put it upon a permanent footing." [2] Burke then lapsed into an exhibition of the bad taste of which he was too often guilty:

"Here is a committee appointed last year; a fair and open committee, which have produced nothing. This was the lawful wife publicly avowed; but finding her barren, they have taken a neat little snug one, which they call a Secret Committee, and this is her first-born. Indeed, from the singular expedition of this extraordinary delivery, I am apt to think she was pregnant before wedlock." [3]

After stating that this Report was a direct invasion of the Company's charter, he proceeded to say:

"It is, Sir, a Bill to suspend a law of the land; it is neither more nor less; and we are, after distressing the Company, about to rob them of their charter, and overthrow their constitution. The noble lord does well, in saying, that he means to preserve the Company from ruin: but he should previously have told you, that their ruin is the immediate consequence of his blunders. In the year 1767, administration plundered the Company of £400,000 and this I assert to have occasioned their present distress. If we suffer this Bill to pass, we shall, in fact, become the East India Company; and you, Sir, will be seated in that chair with a little hammer by an inch

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 561.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 567. [3] *Ibid.*

of candle. The Treasury bench will be the buyers, and on this side we shall be the sellers. The senate will become an auction-room, and the Speaker an auctioneer! Shame upon such proceedings! Here is an end to confidence and public faith.—Public faith! alas! that has long been given up; that has not been attended to for some years! However, I hope the House will let this Report lie upon the table, until the Secret Committee have furnished us with more substantial reasons than have yet appeared for invading the charter of that Company." [1]

The House divided; the Noes were 45, the Ayes 114, so it was resolved in the affirmative, and leave was given to bring in the Bill.

On December 18, 1772, the Bill being read, the Company's Counsel were called to the Bar, and they contended at great length that the principle and object of the Bill was unconstitutional. After witnesses had been examined at the Bar a debate ensued, in the course of which Clive observed:

"Assuredly I can be no enemy to the Company. There is no instance of a man who has been so liberally and munificently rewarded by a body of traders as I have been; and I should be the most worthless of men, did I not feel myself actuated by gratitude to contribute to its welfare and prosperity. Indeed, in taking this part, I acquit myself of two duties at once, of my debt of gratitude to the Company, and of my obligations to my country; for their interests are inseparable, and he that would divide them is an enemy to both. For this reason I am sorry to see the Company come to your bar with this Petition, and enter into a warfare with parliament. In my opinion they should have met half way in the intended reformation, and not discovered this untimely jealousy. Those, who advised them to take this step, should have considered that it must naturally introduce the question of right to the territorial revenue. And when two such unequal antagonists as the crown and the Company cope with each other, it is obvious which will be worsted; the weakest must certainly go to the wall; and, if the crown should ever assume the disposal of that immense empire, miserable will be the situation of Great Britain. Accordingly it has always been my wish, that this question should never be agitated. Can I then be but chagrined at the Company's resistance of the authority of this House, and quarrelling with the mouth that feeds them? If salvation can come to the Company, it must come through this House. The plan of supervision cannot remove the grievances of which they complain. The merit of the supervisors is best known to themselves and to the persons who nominated them. Had they known India

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 567.

as well as I do, they would have shuddered at the dangers and toils of the task which they were going to undertake. Great must be the knowledge, great must be the courage, perseverance and disinterestedness of the man who shall reform and restore Bengal." [1]

Burke defended the Company with his usual flow of words and lavish expenditure of metaphor and classical quotations. He opened his speech by observing that the Bill was of so unconstitutional and dangerous a complexion that he should think himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him by a part of the people were he to sit an idle hearer on such an occasion. The Bill, he considered, was dangerous in itself,

" as being the first step towards a total invasion of the Company's territories in Bengal; and, supposing the motives good, yet it is dangerous for the example—unconstitutional acts founded on unconstitutional motives, springing from unconstitutional acts founded on constitutional motives. Aristotle, who is more spoken of than read, declares that acts of this nature, which are truly what he calls *psephismata*, have the most pernicious consequences, and accelerate the ruin of every state." [2]

He appealed to the House:

" I conjure you by every thing that man ought to hold sacred; I conjure you by the spirits of your forefathers who so nobly fought and bled for the cause for which I now plead; I conjure you by what includes every thing, by your country, not to yield to the temptations which the East in the hands of the crown holds out, not to sink into the gulf of corruption, and drag after you your posterity, your country. I obtest heaven and earth, that in all places, and at all times, I have hitherto shoved by the gilded hand of corruption, and endeavoured to stem the torrent which threatens to overwhelm this land; and from such temptations I pray God of his infinite mercy ever to preserve me." [3]

Lord North replied briefly to the charge made by Burke that the Government had plundered the Company of two millions, and he justified it on the novel ground that, as the Company's affairs had turned out in so wretched a manner, he was of opinion " that the two millions is much better employed in this country than in India." The question being

[1] " The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 667.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 673.
[3] *Ibid.*

put, that the Bill do pass, the House divided. The Ayes 153, the Noes 28. So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On March 9, 1773, the Court of Directors were compelled, owing to the financial embarrassments of the Company, to apply to Government for a loan of £1,500,000 for four years at 4 per cent. On April 5 Lord North moved a Resolution in the Committee of the whole House that the Government should lend, under certain conditions, the Company £1,400,000 at an interest of 4 per cent., and forgo the claim of £400,000 a year till that debt was discharged, and "that the Territorial Acquisitions and Revenues lately obtained in India, should, under proper restrictions and regulations, remain in the possession of the Company, during a term not exceeding six years." Thus, for the first time, a claim was distinctly asserted by the Government to the territorial acquisitions of the Company. Burke, the champion of the Company, objected strongly to the claim.

"If you have a right," he said, "upon what one maxim of law or equity is it founded? When was this right juridically discussed, and finally determined? On what day was the decision given? In what court are we to look for the record of this decision? To what does this right extend? To all, or only to some of the territorial acquisitions? If only to some, of what nature are they? How specified, described, and distinguished from the rest? If you have a right to all the Company's territorial acquisitions, you truly begin a redress of their grievances in a peculiar manner; to restore the ruined state of their finances, you plunder them of their property; and to re-establish the Company's affairs on a permanent basis, you suffer not the proprietors to have a foot of land in India which they can call their own!" [1]

The Resolution was agreed to without a division. The Bill was meant to pave the way for another measure more deeply affecting the constitution of the Company.

On May 3, 1773, the House, having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House to take into further consideration the affairs of the East India Company, Lord North moved:

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the House be moved, that leave be given to bring in a Bill, for establishing certain

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 835.

regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe." [1]

Lord Clive solicited the indulgence of the House while he explained a few facts which had been partially stated; and as he was pleading for what was dearer to him than life, his reputation, he hoped the Committee would patiently hear him. The House exercised considerable patience while he went through one of the Reports and answered at length the passages which assailed his character. He then, with more courage than discretion, attacked the conduct of the Directors, assailed in the severest terms the remissness of former Cabinets in neglecting the affairs of the Company, and had a thrust at Lord North for limiting the continuance of the territorial acquisitions in the Company's possession for six years. Towards the close of an able and a courageous, but indiscreet, speech, which occupied more than two hours, he said:

"My situation, Sir, has not been an easy one for these twelve months past; and though my conscience never could accuse me, yet I felt for my friends, who were involved in the same censure as myself. Sir, not a stone has been left unturned, where the least probability could arise of discovering something of a criminal nature, against me. The two committees, Sir, seem to have bent the whole of their enquiries to the conduct of their humble servant the baron of Plassey; and I have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this House. I am sure, Sir, if I had any sore places about me, they would have been found; they have probed to the bottom; no lenient plaisters have been applied to heal: no, Sir, they were all of the blister kind, prepared with Spanish flies, and other provocatives. The public records have been ransacked for proofs against me; and the late deputy chairman of the India Company, a worthy member of this House, has been very assiduous indeed,—so assiduous in my affairs, that really, Sir, it appears he has entirely neglected his own. As the heads upon Temple Bar have tumbled down, and as there appears no probability of their being replaced, for Jacobitism seems at an end, at least there has been great alteration in men's sentiments within these ten years; I would propose, Sir, that my head, by way of pre-eminence, should be put upon the middle pole; and his Majesty having given me these honours, it is proper they should be supported: What think you then of my having the late chairman and deputy chairman on each side?"

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 851.

Here, says the "Parliamentary History," " the House burst out into applause, and remained in a fit of laughter for nearly ten minutes."

The Resolution was then agreed to, and, on being reported to the House on the following day, leave was granted to bring in the Bill.

Sulivan and his party soon gave vent to their rage and indignation at the attack made by Clive on the Directors. The course they pursued was suggested by the fact that at a Conference of Ministers the Attorney-General, Lord Thurlow, had declared that the Company's financial affairs were in such a state of hopeless ruin that the only remedy was the confiscation of all the property obtained by the Company's servants by gifts, grants, or bequests from the Indian princes. Lord Thurlow justified his proposal on the ground that whatever was obtained by the military force of the country belonged to the state. Some of the Ministry objected to wholesale confiscation, but Lord North was not averse to the suggestion. Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, being a friend of Clive, was not invited to the Conference, and Clive was kept in the dark as to its object. Sulivan became acquainted with the Attorney-General's proposal, and he welcomed it as a weapon for dealing a mortal blow at Clive's honour and fortune.

On May 10 General Burgoyne, their advocate, brought up in the House the Reports of the Select Committee, and he declared that there were accounts of the crimes contained in them which shocked human nature to conceive. The chief crimes which he considered shocked human nature were the deposal and death of Surajah Dowla, the fictitious treaty, which he considered was of the blackest dye, the establishing of Meer Jaffier, and the terms obtained from him on that occasion. After dwelling at length on these enormities, he proposed the following resolutions :

1. " That all acquisitions, made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the state."

2. "That to appropriate acquisitions so made, to the private emolument of persons entrusted with any civil or military power of the state, is illegal."

3. "That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal, from princes, and others of that country, by persons entrusted with the military and civil powers of the state; which sums of money and other valuable property have been appropriated to the private use of such persons." [1]

General Burgoyne declared that if the Resolutions were passed he should move: "That persons who had acquired sums of money by presents or otherwise in India, if they had acquired such sums by virtue of their acting in a public capacity, should be forced to make restitution." Gibbon, who was present at the debate, wrote on May 11:

"The House of Commons sat late last night. Burgoyne made some spirited motions: 'That the territorial acquisitions in India belonged to the state' (that was the word); 'that grants to the servants of the Company (such as jaghires) were illegal; and that there would be no true repentance without restitution.' Wedderburn defended the nabobs with great eloquence, but little argument. The motions were carried without a division; and the hounds go out again next Friday. They are in high spirits; but the more sagacious ones have no idea they shall kill. Lord North spoke for the enquiry, but faintly and reluctantly." [2]

On May 19, 1773, the House met, and General Burgoyne opened the business by a long speech attacking Clive, which he concluded by saying that he intended to propose a Resolution to the following purport:

"That the right hon. Robert lord Clive, baron of Plassey, in the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the powers vested in him in India, had illegally acquired the sum of £234,000 to the dishonour and detriment of the state." [3]

A long debate ensued, during which Clive again addressed the House. The construction of the speech was better than his former addresses, the temper of it more equitable, and it

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 856.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 871, note.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 872.

was free from taunts and personal attacks. He opened it with the following appeal:

"Sir; after rendering my country the services which I think I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of; and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment for the public welfare, and for the particular and advantageous emolument of the East India Company, I little thought transactions of this kind would have agitated the minds of my countrymen in such proceedings as these, tending to deprive me not only of my property, and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me—my honour and my reputation. The House will not think me, I hope, fraught with any degree of vanity when I repeat again that I have done services to my country." [1]

Clive then proceeded to maul the specific charges brought against him. With regard to the gifts which he was charged with receiving unwarrantably, he remarked:

"I must beg leave to observe to the House, that presents were allowed and received from the earliest time of the direction. They have continued to be received uninterruptedly for the space of 150 years; and men, Sir, who have sat in the direction themselves, have at several times received presents. This the direction must know; but I am firmly of opinion, that in honourable cases, presents are not improper to be received; but when for dishonourable purposes, then, Sir, I hold them to be highly improper." [2]

As to the dethronement of Surajah Dowla, he observed:

"The treachery of Surajah Dowlah was for ever in our eye, and his perfidy was never at rest; nor did we attack Chandernagore till the treaty on his behalf was first violated."

He discussed at some length the treachery of Omichund, "the confidential servant" of Surajah Dowla, and the fictitious treaty. He could not say whether the person who signed Admiral Watson's name to the treaty did it in his presence or not; "but this I know, that he thought he had sufficient authority for so doing." "And," he added, "the House, I am fully persuaded, will agree with me, that, when the very existence of the Company was at stake, and the lives of these people so precariously situated, and so certain of being

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 874.
[2] *Ibid.*

destroyed, it was a matter of true policy and of justice to deceive so great a villain." [1] He then read the letter which contained Admiral Watson's full approbation of the proceedings of the revolution.

He proceeded to recapitulate the services he had rendered to his country, and he read to the House more than one letter from the Court expressing their full approval of all his own proceedings. Speaking with the warmth of an honest man against his accusers, he thus expressed himself at the very close:

"Sir, I cannot say that I either sit or rest easy when I find by the extensive Resolution proposed, that all I have in the world is to be confiscated, and that no one will henceforward take my security for a shilling. These, Sir, are dreadful apprehensions to remain under, and I cannot look upon myself but as a bankrupt: nothing my own, and totally unable to give any security, while these Resolutions are pending. Such, Sir, is the situation I am in. I have not any thing left which I can call my own, except my paternal fortune, of £500 per annum, and which has been in the family for ages past. But upon this I am content to live, and perhaps I shall find more real content of mind and happiness therein, than in the trembling affluence of an unsettled fortune.

"But, Sir, I must make one more observation, that if the definition of the hon. gentleman (General Burgoyne) and of this House, is that the state, as expressed in these Resolutions, is, *quo ad hoc*, the Company, then, Sir, every farthing that I enjoy is granted to me. But to be called, after sixteen years have elapsed, to account for my conduct in this manner, and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to have been questioned and considered as obtaining it unwarrantably, is hard indeed; and a treatment I should not think the British senate capable of. But if it should be the case, I have a conscious innocence within me that tells me my conduct is irreproachable. ('*Frangas non flectes.*') They may take from me what I have, they may, as they think, make me poor, but I will be happy. I mean not this as my defence, though I have done for the present. My defence will be made at that bar, and before I sit down, I have one request to make to the House, That when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own." [2]

After Clive sat down the debate was adjourned to May 21, when Clive's evidence before the Select Committee was read, and he concluded a short speech with these noble words:

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 876.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 878–9.

"Take my fortune, but save my honour." He then left the House.

Burgoyne now made the following motion:

"That it appears to this House, that Robert lord Clive, baron of Plassey, in the kingdom of Ireland, about the time of the deposing of Surajah Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, and the establishing of Meer Jaffier on the musnud, did, through the influence of the powers with which he was intrusted as a member of the select committee, and commander in chief of the British forces, obtain and possess himself of 2 lacks and 80,000 rupees as member of the select committee; a further sum of 2 lacks of rupees as commander in chief; and a further sum of 16 lacks of rupees, or more, under the denomination of private donation; which sums, amounting together to 20 lacks, and 80,000 rupees, were of the value, in English money, of £234,000, and that in so doing the said Robert lord Clive abused the powers with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public." [1]

Mr. Stanley moved, as an amendment, that the motion be divided into two questions, the first part ending with the words "English money of £234,000." This was agreed to by the House. Mr. Rose Fuller then proposed an amendment by leaving out the words, "through the influence of the powers with which he was intrusted, as a member of the select committee, and commander in chief of the British forces." [2] As this amendment vitally altered the motion it produced a warm and prolonged debate. Lord North was against the amendment. "The attorney-general was a principal in the attack. The solicitor-general managed his defence. The courtiers went different ways. The most considerable part of the opposition supported Lord Clive, though he had joined administration, and supported them in their proceedings against the Company." [3] The amendment was carried by a large majority. The main question—that Clive, as Commander-in-Chief and a Member of the Select Committee, did obtain certain sums of money—was put and carried. It contained no opinion as to the merits or demerits of these transactions. General

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 881.
[2] The account given in Malcolm's "Life of Clive" differs materially from that given in the "Parliamentary History."
[3] "Annual Register for the Year 1773," p. 107.

Burgoyne now moved the next question, which was the closing part of the original motion: "That Robert lord Clive, did, in so doing, abuse the power with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public." The motion was rejected without a division. Then, at four o'clock in the morning, Wedderburn moved, "That Robert lord Clive did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country." [1] The resolution was carried without a division. So ended, with an honourable testimony, the long inquiry or persecution of Clive.

On May 18, three days before the inquiry closed, Lord North presented to the House "a Bill for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe." Leave was granted to bring in the Bill. It was not, however, till June 10 that the Bill was read a third time, and, upon the question being put, that it do pass, Burke got up, and, after his customary apology for being silent, he declared that the principle of the Bill was an infringement of national right, national faith, and national justice. After Charles Fox had spoken against the Bill, and Lord North had declared a strong desire to put the affairs of the Company upon a solid, fair, firm footing, and that he wished them to become a rich, flourishing and commercial Company, the House divided upon the question that the Bill do pass. The Ayes were 131 and the Noes 21. So it was resolved in the affirmative: and that the title be, "An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe." [2]

It was by this Act of 1773, known as the Regulating Act, that,

"for the first time, the British nation, as a nation, assumed the actual responsibility of the government of the territories won by the servants of a trading corporation. By this measure it was enacted that 'for

[1] "The Parliamentary History of England." The "Annual Register" says, "To the dishonour and detriment of the state." "This country" often printed "His country."

[2] "The Parliamentary History of England," Vol. XVII., p. 904.

the government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal there shall be appointed a Governor-General and four Counsellors,' in whom the whole civil and military government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa was invested. The Governor of Bengal was converted into a Governor-General and Council in order to give emphasis to the fact that the other Presidencies were subordinate to Bengal. The Governor-General and Council were appointed by name in the Act ; they were to hold office for five years, but after that the patronage reverted to the Company subject to the approbation of the Crown ; they were not removable except by the Crown, after representation made by the Court of Directors. In order to have a supervising control over the Company the important power was taken for the Secretary of State and the Board of the Treasury to examine all correspondence received in England from India. The Governor-General and Council were required constantly and diligently to transmit to the Court of Directors ' all exact particulars of all advices or intelligence and of all transactions and matters whatever.' The paramount authority of the Sovereign was declared by the creation of a Supreme Court of Justice." [1]

The Court was the King's Court and every officer of the Company, and the Company itself, were amenable to the jurisdiction and powers of that tribunal, subject only to appeal to the Sovereign in Council.

Warren Hastings was nominated by the Regulating Act the first Governor-General, and he proceeded to build the stately fabric whose wide foundations his great chief had laid. On October 14, 1773, Clive wrote to Hastings :

" All the reports of the committees are published, and will of course be transmitted to you. A few envious and resentful individuals turned the whole attack upon me, and aimed at the ruin of my fortune and reputation. But the justice of the House of Commons defeated their intentions, and, by a great majority passed a vote that I had rendered great and essential services to this country." [2]

On October 26, 1774, Warren Hastings met his new colleagues for the first time in Council, " and then commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took an active part."

A month later the night fell on Clive. The past year had

[1] " Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India," edited by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E.—Warren Hastings, Introduction, pp. 52–3.
[2] " Fort St. George, Madras," by Mrs. F. Penny ; Appendix, p. 234.

been to him one of sore distress. The two years of persecution, the many bitter moments of taunts and false charges, the ingratitude of the nation, gave a mortal wound to a proud and brave spirit. The attacks of the cruel malady which in the years of vigorous manhood clouded his intellect from time to time and struck him into melancholy, now became more frequent. He was also assailed by another disease, gall-stones, which caused him acute and continuous torture. "How miserable I am," he wrote to Strachey, his most devoted comrade and friend. "I have a disease which makes life insupportable, but which Doctors tell me won't shorten it an hour." A few months were left him of life. Body and mind became more affected by the prolonged agony, and, in a moment of collapse and excruciating pain, his intellect lost its balance, and Clive died by his own hand on November 22, 1774. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

At dead of night they removed the body from Berkeley Square and took it to Styche, the well loved home where he was born. He was buried in the small parish church of Moreton Say, the scene of his boyish exploits, but no stone marks the spot where he rests. "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." A brass inside the door bears the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Robert Lord Clive, K.B. Buried within the walls of this church. Born, 29 Sept., 1725. Died, 22 Nov., 1774. Primus in Indis."

APPENDIX

To the Rt. Honble. WILLIAM PITT, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

SIR,—Suffer an admirer of yours at this distance to congratulate himself on the glory and advantage which are likely to accrue to the nation by your being at its head, and at the same time to return his most grateful thanks for the distinguished manner you have been pleased to speak of his successes in these parts, far indeed beyond his deservings.

The close attention you bestow on the affairs of the British nation in general has induced me to trouble you with a few particulars relative to India, and to lay before you an exact account of the revenues of this country; the genuineness you may depend upon, as it has been faithfully extracted from the Minister's books.

The great revolution that has been effected here by the success of the English arms, and the vast advantages gained to the Company by a treaty concluded in consequence thereof, have, I observe, in some measure engaged the public attention; but much more may yet in time be done if the Company will yet exert themselves in the manner the importance of their present possessions and future prospects deserves. I have represented to them in the strongest terms the expediency of sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandising themselves; and I dare pronounce, from a thorough knowledge of this country government, and of the genius of the people, acquired by two years' application and experience, that such an opportunity will soon offer. The reigning Subah whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these Provinces still, it is true, retains his attachment to us, and probably, while he has no other support, will continue to do so; but Mussulmans are so little influenced by gratitude that, should he ever think it his interest to break with us, the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint: and this is very evident from his having lately removed his Prime Minister and cut off two or three principal officers, all attached to our interest, and who had a share in his elevation. Moreover, he is advanced in years, and his son is so cruel and worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy to the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession. So small a body as 2,000 Europeans will secure us from any apprehensions from either the one or the other; and in case of their daring to be

troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves.

There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes ; and as under the present Government they have no security for their lives or properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic government ; and there is little room to doubt our easily obtaining the Moghul's sunnud (or grant) in confirmation thereof, provided we agreed to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues, viz., fifty lakhs annually.

This has of late years been very ill-paid, owing to the distractions in the heart of the Moghul Empire, which have disabled that court from attending to their concerns in the distant provinces ; and the Vazir has actually wrote to me, desiring I would engage the Nawab to make the payments agreeable to the former usage ; nay, further, application has been made to me from the Court of Delhi to take charge of collecting this payment, the person entrusted with which is styled the King's Diwán, and is the next person both in dignity and power to the Subah. But this high office I have been obliged to decline for the present, as I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Subah ; especially as I see no likelihood of the Company's providing us with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ, and which would open a way to secure the Subahship for ourselves. That this would be agreeable to the Moghul can hardly be questioned, as it would be so much to his interest to have these countries under the dominion of a nation famed for their good faith, rather than in the hands of people who, a long experience has convinced him, never will pay him his proportion of the revenues unless awed into it by the fear of the Imperial army marching to force them thereto.

But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company ; and it is to be feared they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance, to maintain so wide a dominion. I have therefore presumed, sir, to represent this matter to you, and submit it to your consideration, whether the execution of a design that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths, be worthy of the Government's taking it into hand. I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms ; and that with the Moghul's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof. Now I leave you to judge whether an income yearly of upwards of two millions sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable productions of nature and of art, be an object deserving the public attention ; and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition ; an

acquisition which, under the management of so able and disinterested a Minister, would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund towards diminishing the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour. Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our indulgence, and under such limitations as we should think fit to prescribe. It is well worthy consideration that this project may be brought about without draining the mother country, as has been too much the case with our possessions in America. A small force from home will be sufficient, as we always make sure of any number we please of black troops, who, being both much better paid and treated by us than by the country powers, will very readily enter into our service. Mr. Walsh, who will have the honour of delivering to you this, having been my Secretary during the late fortunate expedition, is a thorough master of the subject, and will be able to explain to you the whole design, and the facility with which it may be executed, much more to your satisfaction and with greater perspicuity than can possibly be done in a letter. I shall therefore only further remark that I have communicated it to no other person but yourself; nor should I have troubled you, sir, but from a conviction that you will give a favourable reception to any proposal intended for the public good.

The greatest part of the troops belonging to this establishment are now employed in an expedition against the French in the Dekhan; and by the accounts lately received from thence, I have great hopes we shall succeed in extirpating them from the Province of Golconda, where they have reigned lords paramount so long, and from whence they have drawn their principal resources during the troubles upon the coast.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary effort made by the French in sending M. Lally with a considerable force the last year, I am confident before the end of this they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen event interfere in their favour. The superiority of our squadron, and the plenty of money and supplies of all kinds which our friends on the coast will be furnished with from this province, while the enemy are in total want of everything, without any visible means of redress, cannot fail of wholly effecting their ruin in that, as well as in every other part of India.

May the zeal and the vigorous measures projected for the service of the nation which have so eminently distinguished your Ministry be crowned with all the success they deserve, is the most fervent wish of him who is, with the greatest respect, sir, your most devoted humble servant,

Rob. Clive.

Calcutta, 7th January, 1759.

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